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Documents of the National Struggle in Oman and the Arabian Gulf

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THE GULF COMMITTEE

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PREFACE

The following Documents of the national liberation movement in Oman and the Gulf have been prepared by the Gulf Committee London, who are responsible for all editing and translating, as well as for the chronology at the end of the volume. A few explanatory notes have been added by the editors, where indicated.

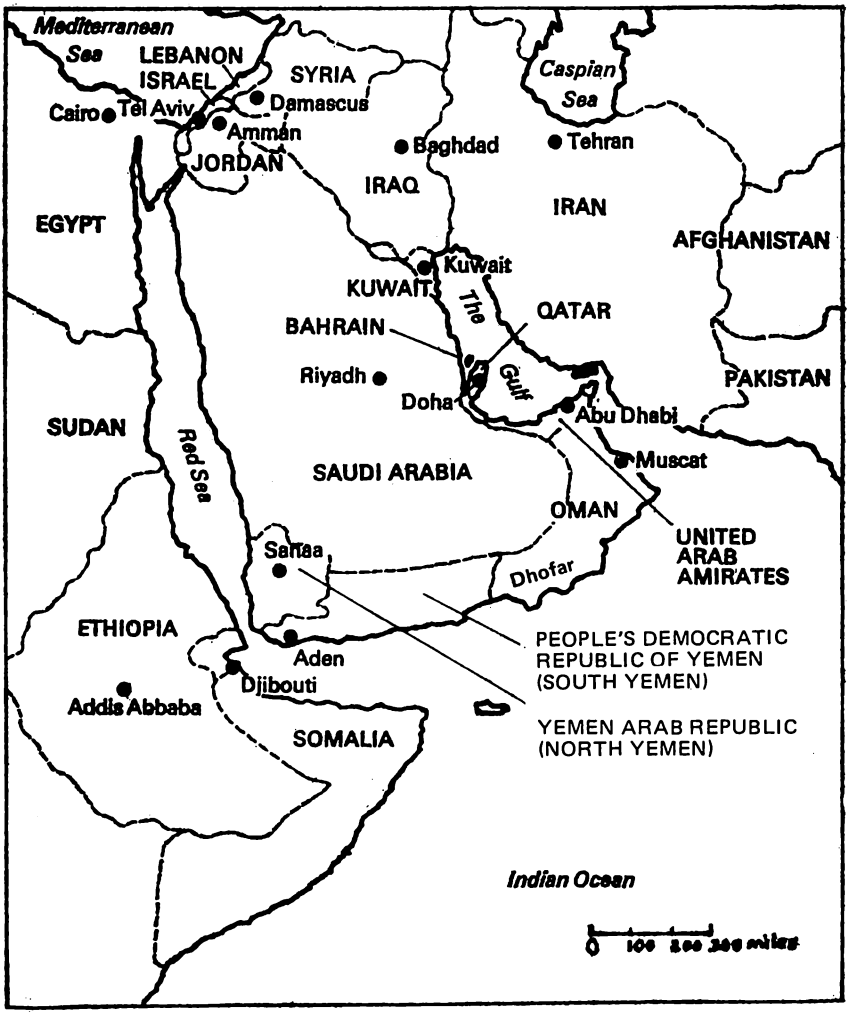
These Documents give a comprehensive view of the development of the liberation movement, both ideologically and militarily, since the outbreak of armed struggle in Oman on 9 June 1965. They also give a first-hand account of the thinking of the revolution on developments in the Gulf and on internal questions facing the struggle.

Since the end of 1973 the liberated areas of Oman have been subjected to an unprecedented counter-revolutionary offensive, in which several thousand Iranian troops have been deployed against the revolutionary forces. In this situation, the revolution has laid greatest stress on building as wide a front of allies as possible, and on concentrating the struggle on the intervention by foreign forces in Oman. The emergence in July 1974 of the *People's Front for the Liberation of Oman* marks the organisational consolidation of this policy.

For over nine years the revolutionary forces have been fighting against imperialism and Arab reaction, and now Iranian expansionism. Yet in both the Arab countries and in the world at large their struggle has gone almost unheard. Today, when solidarity with this revolution is all the more necessary, we hope that the publication of these Documents will enable a wider and more effective solidarity to be built, and that the cause for which so many militants have fought and given their lives will soon achieve it definitive triumph.

The Gulf Committee, London.

October 1974.



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Chronology.

I. CONFERENCE DECLARATIONS OF THE FRONT

1. Dhofar Liberation Front: Declaration issued on the Launching of Armed Struggle, 9 June 1965

Arab people of Dhofar! A revolutionary vanguard has emerged from among you and, believing in God and country, has taken upon itself the task of liberating this country from the rule of the despotic Al Bu Said Sultan whose dynasty has been identified with the hordes of the British imperialist occupation. Brothers! This people has long and bitterly suffered from dispersion, unemployment, poverty, illiteracy and disease—those pernicious weapons introduced under the protection of the bayonets of British Imperialism, and used against the Dhofaris by the government of the Sultans of Muscat.

Arab people of Dhofar! You bear witness to this state of affairs and have all suffered from this absurd policy. God has wished us life and they wish death. But the will of God is the will of Right which should prevail over this part of the great Arab fatherland.

Fighting masses of Dhofar! In the name of the free martyrs who fell in the battleground of dignity and honour; in the name of all the afflicted and the widowed and of all those humiliated by the prevailing corruption and perversion; in the name of the Arab nation, whose sons are fighting in every part of their land—we appeal to the true Arab spirit in you to close ranks against corruption and rally around the fighters of the Dhofar Liberation Front to form an impregnable dam against despotism.

The government of the stooge Said Bin Taimur has enlisted the services of an army of Shu'ubi mercenaries to frustrate the goals of Arab liberation in this country; but the DLF will be like blazing fire against it in every part of the country. This same spiteful Shu'ubi

(foreign, non-Arab—*ed.*) army has managed to obstruct the aims of the revolution in Oman; however, the Free Will which derives its strength from the will of God is bound to overcome. We vow to God that we shall teach this army a lesson it will never forget—the same lesson taught to the imperialist armies in Egypt, Algeria, Iraq and Yemen.

Masses of our people in South Yemen and the Gulf and in every part of the Arab homeland! The armed struggle in Arab Dhofar—which draws strength from the aims of Arab nationalism which our Arab liberation army is presently implementing with the force of arms—is in need of your moral and material help. If the DLF has resorted to armed struggle as a means of overthrowing the Sultans, their henchmen and their British imperialist overlords, it is because we believe that the imperialists and their agents—who have enslaved this people and humiliated it until it lost all hope of ever achieving dignity and freedom —will not submit to our people's demands except by the force of arms.

Brothers! This corrupt situation has forced upon the Dhofari Arabs a life of subsistence and weakness and sowed the seeds of dissent among them. It was inevitable that it should lead to the upsurge of the masses and the outburst of the revolution of dignity and freedom.

Brothers in Dhofar! Rally to the call of your Front which has shouldered the responsibility of achieving liberation in these crucial moments of our country's history.

Sons of the cities, the mountains and the desert! Join the ranks of the DLF, stand in line with it against imperialism and its agents, the treacherous Sultans, to achieve Freedom, Unity, Social Justice and Dignity.

As for collaborators with the despotic Sultanate, they will meet the punishment they deserve at the hands of the Front.

Brothers! The DLF calls upon you—in the name of the fatherland and Arabism—to take up arms and engage in its struggle against imperialism and its mercenary troops until the flag of freedom flies high in the sky of our beloved Dhofar.

Arab fighting masses! The Dhofar Liberation Front—presently leading the struggle in Dhofar against imperalism and its agents—firmly believes in the unity of the Arab nation and in the unity of the struggle of all Arabs from the Ocean to the Gulf. This belief necessarily drives us to seek militant unity with the other Arab revolutionary organisations in the Gulf and in South Yemen. That is why the DLF calls upon such organisations to support it in its just struggle and provide it with all the

moral and material help they can afford until it achieves its aim and defeats its enemies, the enemies of Arab Nationalism.

Victory for ever to the free fighting men; defeat and shame upon the traitors and the imperialists!

Long live Dhofar, Arab and free!

Long live the Dhofar Liberation Front!

Long live the Arab Nation!

The Dhofar Liberation Front
9 June 1965.

2. Decisions of the Second Congress held at Hamrin, September 1968, and the Establishment of the People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf

The Dhofari Revolution, throughout its historical development and its struggle, has faced innumerable difficulties and crucial problems which have imprisoned it in a painful reality and have drawn it into isolation. In addition, a number of negative factors have perforce had repercussions on the Dhofari revolution. For example: the unfavourable Arab context, and inter-Arab rivalries; the ideological confusion which has characterised the Arab revolution in its struggle for liberation; the presence of bourgeois forces in the leadership of the Arab National Democratic Liberation movement, who because of their class basis and ideology, pursue policies of hesitation and compromise striving, above all, to serve the interests and privileges of their class. Although the Dhofari revolution has embodied revolutionary principles and progressive objectives, this defective reality and these difficult circumstances have placed it in an abnormal atmosphere; and have been important factors in its isolation and sterility. To these must be added the criminal role played by the colonialist authorities, Arab reaction, and the traditional political forces represented by the Imamate of Oman, all of whom have desperately tried to ruin the revolution and to stifle it by all and any means, preventing news of the armed struggle from spreading, disseminating false propaganda, and casting doubt on the great struggle being led by the Dhofari Liberation Front. In spite of all this, the labouring masses of our people have energetically thrown themselves into the liberation struggle, a struggle of honour and dignity to overthrow the colonialist, reactionary feudal regime which is known as the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

The Dhofar Liberation Front, vanguard of the armed struggle, which lit the flame of revolution in the Dhofari mountains on 9th June 1965, held its second congress in the central region at Wadi Hamrin, from the 1st to the 20th of September 1968. This Congress marked a significant and historical point in the phase through which the revolution is now passing. Analyses and critical reports on the progress of the revolution were presented, bringing out both the positive and the negative factors which influence it. Furthermore it extricated the Front from its isolation and stagnation by elaborating a global strategy at all levels of the struggle (ideological, strategic, organisational). The congress took the following decisions:

(1) It elected a new leadership.
(2) It elaborated a national Charter.

In addition, the Second Congress of the Front adopted a number of historic decisions, concerning the internal and the external sphere at the strategic and ideological levels. These are such that the revolutionary armed struggle will now progress and evolve.

Strategically, the congress resolved:

(1) To adopt organised revolutionary violence as the sole means for defeating imperialism, reaction, the bourgeoisie and feudalism.

(2) To change the Front's name from the Dhofar Liberation Front to the People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf, and adopt a comprehensive revolutionary strategy for the whole of the Occupied Arab Gulf by linking the struggle in Dhofar to the mass struggle in the Gulf—this being the fine destiny of the revolution in Dhofar;

(3) To work towards the unification of the revolutionary tool of the popular masses in the Occupied Arabian Gulf as the healthy and revolutionary prelude to the unity of the area.

Ideologically, the congress adopted scientific socialism which constitutes the historic doctrine that guides the struggles of the poor masses for the eradication of colonialism, imperialism, the bourgeoisie and feudalism; and the scientific method for analysing reality and understanding contradictions among the people. Furthermore, the Congress amply discussed all the plans and plots concocted by imperialist circles to suppress the movement for the national liberation in the Occupied Arabian Gulf and in the Arab world as a whole. As a result of this, the Congress strongly condemned the fake Union of Arab Amirates, the Omani Imamate and

all the traditional political forces in the area which betray the cause of the masses by raising fake revolutionary slogans.

The Congress firmly supports the struggle of the Palestine people represented by the armed Palestinian resistance and the just struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against world imperialism, bourgeois and feudal regimes; at the same time it vehemently denounces and condemns the racist regime in Rhodesia and racial discrimination in the USA.

In conclusion, the PFLOAG calls upon all the revolutionary movements in the Occupied Arabian Gulf to shoulder their historic responsibilities, adopt the resolutions of its Second Congress and work for their implementation. PFLOAG also calls upon all progressive Arab states and friendly socialist states to support the just struggle of our people and grant it aid in all forms: financially, militarily, morally and in the field of information.

Eternal victory to the struggling peoples. Defeat and shame upon the imperialists and the reactionaries!

Long live the People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf!

Long live the struggle of all the peoples of the world for the defeat of colonialism, imperialism, the bourgeoisie and feudalism!

Released by the General Command of PFLOAG,
11 November 1968.

3. The National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf: Declaration on the Launching of Armed Struggle, 12 June 1970.

Our region has today reached a historic moment, defined by an intensification in the struggle between the exploiters and exploited. This enables the region to follow a new course and to end exploitation and oppression and achieve a better future and a better life. This is because a new phase has begun in our people's struggle against colonialism and its exploiting allies—the Sultans, Amirs and other hired agents—who are used by colonialism to serve their interests, as exploiters of the oppressed masses. Oman and the Arab Gulf has been disgraced by colonialists who have stolen its wealth, oppressed its people and enslaved the

population in economic, social, political and cultural backwardness. Now they should keep these elements under their influence for as long as possible: in this way our land will become a grave for imperialism and its allies.

Colonialism first appeared in our region a long time ago when there was competition between the colonising countries. The reasons for the colonial intervention in Oman and the Arab Gulf was the area's important geographic position: it lay on the route between the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, as well as forming that between the Indian Ocean and the Arab world. In the period of the great European naval discoveries, competition over the Gulf began between Portugal, Holland, France and Italy, all of them seeking new land and wealth and trying to secure trade routes which were to be the backbone of these powers. Later the industrial revolution in Europe compelled these states to seek wider markets for their industrial products and to seize the raw material hidden in these places and transfer them to power the factories of Europe. This resulted in the introduction of colonialism into our country and in the domination of weak peoples by stronger states.

The Intervention of Colonialism in our Area

Britain won the struggle with its colonial competitors, and it finally succeeded in imposing its sole control over the region and imposing unfair treaties. The results of the struggle can be seen in the following points:

(1) British domination over the region was total. It eradicated all the influence of its predecessors.
(2) Existing social formations and regional divisions were reinforced to confirm British supremacy in shipping, trade and strategic positions.
(3) There was a strengthening of the rule of local Sheikhs and Amirs. They were at the same time bound by restrictive treaties which reduced them to being puppets in the hands of the colonialists and which thus enabled them to control important political positions.
(4) Britain gained economic concessions which guaranteed its monopoly of oil and mineral wealth, and which made the area a profitable market for its products and investment. To maintain its hold on the area Britain built huge military bases in Bahrain, Sharjah, Masirah and developed mercenary armies commanded by British officers.
(5) Britain needed these bases and armies in order to repress the nationalist movement that developed in Bahrain (1954-1956, 1965) and the rising led by Imam Ghalib bin Ali and some other tribal leaders in the Omani interior in 1957, as well as the revolution in southern Oman (Dhofar) which started in 1965, and which has now become a total revolution. These colonial forces are just forces of suppression used for

crushing the national liberation movement. Britain has maintained its supremacy in many ways including the one-sided treaties imposed by direct or indirect force. In Muscat the ruling Al Bu Said family fell under the control of Britain which embraced it, nurtured it and subsidised its treachery in order to achieve its designs and to force it to collaborate in maintaining the interests of the Europeans and of itself against those of the people. The area is rich in agricultural, fishing and trading resources, and has more recently emerged in mineral wealth, particularly the black gold—oil—which began to flow in massive quantities in the 1960s. Yet the monopolies built a wall of secrecy around this and continued to oppress and exploit the people who remained impoverished, disease-ridden, and ignorant. The puppet regime linked Muscat and the Omani interior to Dhofar in a series of treaties which confirmed British supremacy and kept the Al Bu Said family in power for a long time. The first of these treaties was signed with Sultan Ibn Ahmad bin Sa'id on 12 October 1797. In 1810 Sa'id bin Sultan gave the Kuria Muria islands (off the Dhofar coast) as a gift to Queen Victoria and her successors. In 1898 Britain signed the first defence treaty with Sultan Faisal bin Turki. In 1902 Faisal signed a treaty agreeing not to give coaling concessions except to Britain. In 1905 a British company gained a concession for sponge gathering. In 1923 Sultan Taimur signed a treaty agreeing to grant no oil concessions except to British firms. Then Sultan Sa'id bin Taimur who came to power in 1932 continued the policies of his predecessors and added a new page in the history of treachery against the people. He gave Britain more concessions and used the cruellest form of exploitation, oppression and torture against our long-suffering people.

On the coast of Oman Britain started with the "divide and rule" principle creating derisory, scattered, tribal entities (the seven Amirates) and in January 1859 it signed individual treaties with the tribal leaders in each of these fraudulent Amirates. From our historical survey we can see that these treaties were forcibly imposed after bitter struggles and long wars between Britain and the local inhabitants. In Kuwait the first treaty was signed on 23 July 1899 between the British Political Resident in Iran and the subservient Sheikh Mubarrak: this prohibited the sheikh and his heirs from receiving any representative of any government or foreign subject without prior consent from the British Government. In Bahrain on 22 January 1888 in the reign of Isa bin Ali al Khalifa, Britain signed a similar treaty and it did so again with Qatar, during the First World War.

The development of colonialism involved the formation of monopoly companies; this was a consecration of the principle of the exploitation of different peoples by the colonisers. These companies began to exercise economic control with the support of both the armies established by

1. A home in Dhofar: the majority of the mountain people still live in caves like this one, or in wattle huts.
2. Wreckage of a British Aircraft Corporation Strikemaster jet, downed over the liberated areas. These planes, which are used for strafing and bombing, are piloted by RAF personnel.

colonialism to protect these companies and a comprador class set up to participate in turning the country into a stamping ground for imperialists and a market for their goods, in alliance with the tribalistic feudal class represented by the Sheikhs, Amirs and Sultans in this area. The companies did not stop there. Later they created states to which they gave an apparent independence, an anthem, a flag and a name (Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar). In reality these entities were inextricably tied to colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The Nationalist Movement in the Region

The 1950s marked a new chapter in the struggle between the imperialist powers over control of Oman and the Arab Gulf. US imperialism and its monopoly companies encouraged its reactionary allies to mobilise against the British monopoly companies. The Buraimi affair (early 1950s) marked the beginning of the struggle between the capitalists themselves. US imperialism encouraged its Saudi ally to occupy the Buraimi oases. Britain therefore decided to fight to return Buraimi to its former status as a part of Oman and to block the road to US oil companies who wanted to exploit the area. The struggle intensified during the 1957 uprising in Oman which broke out in the Jabal Akhdar region under the leadership of the Iman Ghalib bin Ali, his brother Talib bin Ali, Suleiman bin Himyar, and Saleh al-Harithi. The CIA was able to manipulate these tribal leaders because of their strong connections with the Saudi regime, and make them undertake what appeared to be their own armed operations. The real object was to make the interior secure for US companies, and thus put pressure on British capital in Oman and the Gulf. Thanks to its direct military control over the region, British capitalism was able to crush the movement. After some years of fighting in which Britain used brutal forms of torture and destruction against our people, the movement was defeated. This was for a number of reasons. The movement was confined to the Jabal Akhdar and the rest of the Oman region did not share the reasons for the struggle. This was a result of a regional, tribal and feudal ideology which was found in the leadership. They repressed the mass organisation and attempted to keep the movement under the control of a backward leadership, resisting progress and opposing any revolutionary transformation. In addition they imposed a personalist leadership which was incompetent in military affairs and contemptuous of the people.

The Opposition Movement in Bahrain (1954-1956 and 1965), in Qatar and Kuwait

The nationalist movement in Bahrain grew as a result of specific subjective and objective factors. The subjective factor was the conspiracy of the regime which tried to divide the Shi'a and Sunni religious groups

in the month of Muharram, exploiting the increasing religious contradictions in order to lessen the people's hatred for the regime and to redirect the struggle in its own interests. At the same time there was an objective factor: the consciousness of the Bahraini masses meant that the conspiracy rebounded against the regime and the people revolted against the regime and its hidden masters, the imperialists. However, the leadership, consisting of tribal leaders and merchants, then came forward to demand reforms appropriate to their own class position.

In 1965, by contrast, the movement was a revolutionary class struggle. It began with an historic strike by the workers in the BAPCO oil company who were able to draw all other popular sectors into the struggle: the economic demands of the working class developed into class demands for which the people fought determinedly in the streets against the repressive forces. The 1965 movement ended when the leadership of the traditional parties surrendered, thereby deriving nothing from the experience of the people in their struggle against the forces of repression. The failure of the 1965 movement clearly demonstrated the inability of the traditional parties to lead the poor masses. In Qatar the nationalist movement exploded into the workers' uprising of 1963 when a strike was savagely put down by the British and the reactionary regime. The demands of this rebellion were in general the same as those in Bahrain in 1954-1956, and the people encountered the same violence from colonialism and local reaction.

In Kuwait the nationalist movement was organised enough to achieve some of its aims. The authorities set up a Council of Deputies and, via this assembly, were able to control the nationalist movement because of the latter's class structure and vacillating leadership. The events of 1969 represented a new situation in Kuwait; there was a revolutionary rebellion of poor workers and students, and although it did not seem to be linked to a strategic class programme it was a living expression of the class contradictions which the government tried to hide behind its parliamentary programme and which proved the uselessness of the traditional parliamentary, nationalist, approach.

The Revolution in Dhofar

The armed revolution in Southern Oman (Dhofar) broke out in 1965 under the leadership of the *Dhofar Liberation Front*. It continued along a mistaken path of spontaneous action under a leadership incapable of leading armed struggle until the Hamrin Conference of 1968. Three years of practical experience led the masses to cast aside illusions and to develop a clearer strategy; a group of poor, progressive elements strengthened the development as a response to the revo-

lutionary ideas they had encountered. The conference concluded with a number of historic decisions among which was the change of the name to the *People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf.*

If we looked closely and scientifically at these different movements in the Gulf we can see that some of them are the expressions of struggles between capitalist states, each trying to extend its influence and its exploitation of the peoples of the region. Other movements are a result of a tendency to emphasise the carrying of arms, extemporise, under an individualistic leadership with a contempt for the enemy's strength and a lack of revolutionary theory. Yet others have clashed directly with the colonialists and have developed a struggle based on reformist demands which have ended by losing everything after the vicious attacks which colonialism and its allies made on the traditional parties in leading the liberation struggle against imperialism; and as a result of the previous leadership of the nationalist movement failing to follow the road of national liberation to which the broad masses of the people in our region aspire, there has been a political, economic and social crisis coupled with increasing imperialist terror and a unification of the exploiting forces.

Throughout Oman and the Arab Gulf, the Masses ask: What is to be Done?

There is no substitute for a deeper understanding of the revolutionary process. This expresses in a precise form the aspirations of the people; it responds to imperialist, colonialist and reactionary violence with a revolutionary violence which embraces the oppressed masses, those who have a genuine interest in the revolution and want to achieve a happy life. This is why the revolutionary people's movement emerged in Oman and the Arab Gulf. It aims to co-ordinate the entire potential of the region into one force, representing all progressive forces, relying on the working masses and raising the flag of protracted people's war. It will realise these aims through persistent work to transform the movement into a revolutionary practice.

The NDFLOAG was set up from the following organisations:

(a) *The People's Revolutionary Movement in Oman and the Arab Gulf.*
(b) *The Revolutionary Students' Vanguard in Oman and the Arab Gulf.*
(c) *The Patriotic Soldiers' Association of Oman*
(d) Various tribal organisations in Oman.

The great events now taking place in our country will overcome its

existing backwardness and will replace it by a progressive revolutionary structure based on the loyalty and self-sacrifice of the masses, those whose interests are served by the revolution. The establishment of NDFLOAG will change the course of history in this region: it marks the beginning of the end for imperialism and its Arab class allies. This front will lead the revolution in the struggle and will rally the masses. The revolution will derive its power from the masses; it can only win through reliance on the people. The elimination of imperialism and its structures, and the establishment of a people's government necessarily involve thousands of guns being carried by thousands of sincere, revolutionary, militants. Soon, humiliation, exploitation and slavery will be banished for ever. The people will seize their rights, expropriating the hangman who now rules over the country's resources.

NDFLOAG adheres to the following revolutionary programme. It aims:

1. To fight colonialism, neo-colonialism, its allies and reactionary collaborators in order to establish a people's government.
2. To build a modern people's revolutionary army, without ranks or privileges.
3. To mechanise agriculture in order to increase production, electrify the countryside and set up a modern communications network.
4. To build a national economy independent of the world capitalist market.
5. To establish heavy industry, the only way to set up an independent national economy and benefit from the country's natural wealth.
6. To establish a democratic society in which brother does not exploit brother, and in which there shall be freedom of thought, of expression, of work and of religion.
7. To fight ignorance, disease and poverty, by spreading education and cultural activity, eliminating illiteracy, creating hospitals, disseminating health education and giving everyone the opportunity to work.
8. To establish that, since women make up half of society, they have a right to play a full part in the revolution and in building the new society.
9. To end tribal wars and conflicts which are fertile ground for colonialist intrigues.

Adhering to these aims, NDFLOAG states unequivocally its revolutionary position on all regional, Arab and international questions.

In regional matters it demands a scientific analysis of all developments. The revolution in the South (Dhofar) is the first step on our long road to freedom and to regaining the people's rights. NDFLOAG asserts its full support for the struggle being led by PFLOAG and declares its intention to work for the co-operation of the two fronts as

quickly as possible in order to fight the common enemy. The British strategy of executing a fake withdrawal from the Gulf Region in 1971 has led the British to set up the Union of Arab Amirates: but this Union is still-born. The Union has failed because of the existing contradictions between British and US interests. Britain imposed its strategic conception on the region in accordance with the demands of the situation and in order to consolidate Britain's position. It granted a fake independence to a number of Amirates (Bahrain, Qatar, the State of the UAA) and still tries to act within a neo-colonialist framework, by altering the local political structures and finding rulers who can carry out neo-imperialist plans in the Omani interior. NDFLOAG's position concerning this imperialist strategy expresses the wishes of the people who reject all such bogus enterprises. The masses want to fight this conspiracy with arms; they have already stated their clear opposition to the CIA agents Ghalib bin Ali, Talib bin Ali, Suleiman bin Himyar, Saleh al Harithi and their associates who have traded the fate of the Omani people and gambled with their potentialities, using them as a source of personal enrichment. We say they are in effect agents of US imperialism: we shall fight them just as we are fighting the agents of British imperialism. The Front also clearly states that its position on those foreign communities living in Oman will be determined by their attitude to the revolution: we call on them to join the struggle against the common enemy. The Front will strike with an iron hand at those who stand opposed to the revolution, at those who collaborate with the enemy or spy on the revolutionary forces in order to help the enemy. At the same time NDFLOAG welcomes all progressive, democratic forces and calls on them to join the revolution.

In Arab matters, our revolution forms part of the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples. It declares that it is one with all progressive Arab revolutionary forces and with the Palestinian resistance which is facing the most brutal expropriation from its land, a form of colonialism supported by imperialism the world over. The Front also supports the revolutionary movements in Eritrea and in Iranian-occupied Arabistan.

The revolution is at the same time a part of the national liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The heroic revolution in Vietnam is now fighting the vilest and largest imperialist state, the USA. This revolution is a shining example of resistance and of the greatness of protracted people's war. NDFLOAG condemns the American imperialist intervention against the national liberation movement in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam and calls on the socialist camp to take a decisive stand in support of national liberation movements.

The popular revolutions in the different countries of the world against colonialism and imperialism complement each other. These revolutions will help each other to bury imperialism and to raise the flag of revolution for ever. They put fear into the hearts of imperialism and their allies and their hearts will become weak together as will those of all exploiters and oppressors.

Long live the People's revolutionary movement in Oman and the Arab Gulf!
Long live PFLOAG!
Long live NDFLOAG!

General Command of the National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf, 12 June 1970.

4. Declaration of the Constituent Conference of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf, held at Ahlish in the liberated Areas, December 1971.

As a result of the fact that the two Fronts share common positions, and in response to the extensive colonialist manoeuvres recently seen in Oman and the Arab Gulf, the leaderships of the *People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf* and the *National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf* held a joint conference at the end of 1971. This marked the culmination of all previous joint activities and led to the unification of the two fronts. The purpose of this is to bring together all forces to intensify the struggle against British colonialism and its puppets, and thereby to help towards establishing a broad popular front in the whole of Oman and the Arab Gulf.

The conference made a careful study of the changes which imperialism had been carrying out in recent months, as part of the proposed withdrawal of Britain from the area and of the military and political alterations, both visible and hidden, which imperialism and reaction had effected. The purpose of these moves has been to block the development of the national revolution and to distort its policies and objectives in order to consolidate the position of imperialism and its interests in the area.

British colonialism has had to face the rise of an armed, popular, revolution in the Dhofar region of Oman and the spread of popular hostility and of a revolutionary current all over the area. These have posed a

threat to the interests of imperialism as a whole and to the backward, tribal, conditions still prevailing in Oman and the Arab Gulf. As a result Britain has carried out its bogus withdrawal from this region, with the intention of thereby altering the position it and its clients have; it is using American imperialism, and the latter's agents in Saudi Arabia and Iran, to counter the overall development of the revolution.

It is noticeable that, recently, the colonialists and reactionaries have been very active and there has been a sharp increase in the number of meetings, of delegations and of suspicious visits by imperialist envoys. The imperialists have drawn up a number of plans designed to tighten their hold on the people and to prevent them from gaining control in any way over their own lives. After the imperialists had reached agreement among themselves and had allotted roles to each other and their clients, they granted a fake independence to Bahrain, Qatar and the Sultanate of Oman and set about trying to alter the unwelcome situation prevailing in the northern part of Oman.

The colonialists have broken our area up, and looted its rich resources while at the same time continuing the war of annihilation against our people in Dhofar: but, not content with this, they also handed over part of our country to the military and feudalist regime in Iran just a few minutes before the official independence of the bogus Union of Arab Amirates, and before the British officially completed their fake withdrawal from the area. Through this, imperialism hopes to whip up chauvinist sentiment, and to distort the nature of the struggle now going on in the Gulf by provoking a clash between the Arab and Iranian peoples. They also hope to assist the expansionist ambitions of the Shah's regime, and to create repressive bases on these islands for use against our people and its liberation movement.

The latest political developments have not only amply demonstrated the organic links between the ruling tribal families and colonialism and Arab and Iranian reaction, but they have also proved the former's treason and continued willingness to sacrifice the interests and territory of our nation so as to satisfy their imperialist masters and in order to help them exploit the people and loot their resources.

The colonialists have devoted special attention to the Sultanate of Oman, and this for a number of reasons. The armed revolution in Dhofar was intensifying, and after the Hamrin conference of 1968 it made important ideological and strategic advances; then armed struggle broke out in the interior of northern Oman and the British then quickly implemented their plan, replacing Sultan Said by his son Qabus. They set about rallying their followers, and launched a comprehensive campaign of distortion within the revolutionary movement so as to deprive it of mass

support and to falsify the nature of its nationalist policies. However, the revolution in Dhofar stood firm and defeated the divisive conspiracy by pro-imperialist elements which broke out on 12 September 1970. At the same time, the People's Liberation Army and the People's Militia won victories while the mass movement throughout the Sultanate advanced. This all forced the imperialists to develop new policies and to send more British soldiers and mercenaries from other countries to fight the revolution.

The imperialists are well aware of the deep contradictions existing between them and the working people of our country. They are trying hard to consolidate their forces and to reduce the contradictions within their own ranks by intensified looting of our wealth, by keeping the markets of our area open to capitalist penetration, by bogus concessions to each other and by wide-ranging co-operation between them. Those who have to pay for this criminal activity are the masses of Oman, and in particular the nationalists and the working class who are now suffering intensely.

Given the unity of the imperialists and of the reactionaries, and their conspiracies in the area, it is essential for the working people and their nationalist formations to stand together and to defend the nation's territory and liberate the area from colonialism, old and new; they must, at the same time, attain the national, and democratic, objectives for which so many of the people have given their lives. It is incumbent on the forces of the revolution to unite, consolidate, and establish a unified national front to oppose the front of the imperialists and reactionaries, and to defeat their policies.

The constituent conference of the new front was held in a liberated part of the Dhofar region, and all the major issues and necessary practical steps were discussed. The conference was based on a correct scientific understanding the contradictions existing in the Oman/Arab Gulf region as a whole, and of their fundamental and secondary aspects, and it held firm to the historic responsibilities shouldered by the *People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf* and by the *National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf*. In an atmosphere of revolutionary enthusiasm, the conference reached the following major decisions:

1. To amalgamate the *People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf* and the *National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf* into one front under the name, *People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf*.

2. To discuss and approve the national democratic working plan and

the internal organisational statutes forwarded by the preparatory committee.

3. To elect a single leadership for the *People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.*

These measures undoubtedly form the basis for the unity of all nationalist forces and groups within a single broad united front, so that it can mobilise the masses against the enemy. At this critical phase of the struggle, the prime task is to establish a broad and combative patriotic front all over Oman and the Arab Gulf and to ensure that it is on this basis that the mass struggles are intensified and the policies of the revolution are made known.

The constituent conference sends greetings to the *People's Democratic Republic of Yemen* and welcomes the mass uprisings of poor peasants and fishermen there. It salutes Democratic Yemen's patriotic and revolutionary support for the revolution in Oman and the Arab Gulf, and declares that it stands with it against he imperialist attempts to arrest the revolution and to overthrow the progressive regime in South Yemen. The conference stresses the need to strengthen the combative and organisational ties between the two vanguard organisations—the *National Liberation Front* (of South Yemen—*ed.*) and the *People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.* The conference also greets the struggle of the people in the Northern part of Yemen aimed at overthrowing the feudalist and reactionary regime there, and establishing a united democratic Yemen.

The conference sends greetings to the struggling masses and to the progressive forces in other areas of the Arabian peninsula who are fighting to overthrow the client despotism in what is called "Saudi" Arabia; it calls for the reinforcement and strengthening of relations between the various components of the national democratic revolution in the Arabian peninsula.

At the same time the conference greets the struggle of the Iranian people against the client military and feudalist regime in their country, and declares that it stands on the side of their progressive forces as well as for reinforcing the militant relations between the Arab and Iranian peoples. Thereby they can defeat all the attempts by imperialists and reactionaries to attack them and to deepen the chauvinist rifts between them.

The constituent conference declares that it stands firmly on the side of the armed revolution in Palestine, and of the nationalist forces there. It believes that the correct way forward is for Palestinian activities to

be unified, and for there to be a commitment to a protracted people's war and to the mobilisation of the Palestinian masses. This is the only way to counter the capitulationist tendencies supported by imperialism which are designed to liquidate the Palestinian resistance, and to ratify the Zionist presence. It is essential to strengthen the links between the revolutions in Oman and the Arab Gulf and in Palestine; all efforts must be co-ordinated and mobilised against the common enemy.

The colonialist position in Palestine serves as an observation post for the imperialists to guard their interests all over the Arab world, and especially the oil resources in Oman and the Arab Gulf. The constituent conference stresses the need to establish close ties between the genuine forces of the Palestinian revolution and the armed struggle in Oman and the Arab Gulf. The conference also stresses the need to build a progressive Arab front to mobilise all available resources in a co-ordinated manner against the broad imperialist alliance which aims to liquidate the revolutionary Arab movement and to strengthen the reactionary regimes and the interests of world imperialism in the Arab world.

At the same time the constituent conference declares its support for the national liberation movements in the three continents, and its solidarity with the forces of progress and socialism in their just struggle against imperialism and international capitalism.

The Constituent Conference of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf, Ahlish, Liberated Areas, December 1971.

5. The National Democratic Working Plan, adopted at the Third Congress of the People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf, June 1971

When British imperialism took control of the territories of the Arab Gulf which stretch from Dhofar in the south to Kuwait in the north, it practised the worst kinds of annihilation and exploitation against our people. In spite of this, our people resisted the invasion of British imperialism very bravely, just as they had already resisted Portuguese and Dutch imperialism.

The main reason why the people's risings of the last century and a half failed was that they had a feudalist, tribal or bourgeois character. The leaders of these revolts betrayed our people and led their struggles along an incorrect and capitulationist path, in which they collaborated with the imperialists and reactionaries.

After a long series of combative experiences and of resistance to occupation, and through absorbing the great historical lessons won by our people from these experiences, which included realising what the major weaknesses and setbacks were in addition to certain betrayals, our masses for the first time planned a correct and novel way forward. They set out on this road on 9 June 1965.

British imperialism was not content to impose control on our people, to install military bases in our country, to loot our resources and open up our lands and markets to Britain and other imperialist powers. It also split the area up politically into a large group of sultanates, sheikhdoms and other tenuous political entities. The aim of this was to weaken the area, separate the people off from each other and to create artificial conflicts and regional clashes so that it would be easy to control and exploit these areas for as long as possible.

The great growth of people's revolution in the south of the Gulf and the increase in the people's hostility to imperialist control all over the area forced British imperialism to adopt a new colonialist policy. This involved modernising the form imperialism took in the northern part of the Gulf, through evacuating some of its bases and troops from the northern area and granting these regions a fake and fictitious independence.

The United Arab Amirates, which Anglo-American imperialism in collaboration with local reaction is trying to establish, is in the interests of the imperialists and reactionaries, and is being set up against the will and the interests of the people. The people want to put an end to the division of the area and to turn the idea of unity into a reality.

The withdrawal of British troops from the northern part of the Gulf and the imperialist and reactionary plans which are directed by the US are only tactics by which, in different ways, they are trying to fortify their interests and weaken the national democratic movement in the Gulf.

The Enemies of the People and the National Classes

In our view society in the Arabian Gulf is a colonial society, semi-colonised in some areas, and semi-feudalist in others. For this reason the enemies of the people and of the revolution are imperialism, feudalism and all their collaborators. The comprador bourgeoisie collaborate with the feudalist forces; they help the representatives of feudalism to strengthen their dictatorship and exploitation of our people. They are therefore to be considered enemies of the people and of the revolution. The working class and the poor peasantry form the majority of the

people. They make up eighty per cent of the total population and form the main group exploited by imperialism and feudalism. This means that these two classes form the driving political power of the revolution and the basis of the revolution. The petty bourgeoisie in the cities and in the countryside also suffer at the hands of the enemies of the revolution—of imperialism, feudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie. Therefore, the majority of the petty bourgeoisie can be included as part of the revolution.

The Importance of the Broad National Front

In order to face so many enemies, to conquer them and to be victorious all over the Gulf the masses must rise up against the imperialists and their puppets, the Amirs, sultans, feudalists and compradors. The other classes have a common interest in combating the enemies of the revolution and must unite in a wider front, which is an alliance between all patriotic classes and groups within the people.

We attach great importance to the establishment of a broad people's front all over the Gulf which is a precondition for conquering all the enemies of the people and defeating them. We also lay stress on the necessity of the revolution being led by the class which is in the majority and on the fact that this is a major condition of the realisation of the united front and the achievement of final victory. Through struggle we can unite as one bloc all anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary forces. Such a fighting bloc cannot be realised through compromises or an unclear political line.

Different Types of Struggle Against Imperialism and its Reactionary Allies

The Gulf revolution must be an armed struggle and the people must fight with all their revolutionary capacity to bring down the imperialist and reactionary powers. Without mobilising all our forces we can never conquer and defeat any regime in any province of the Gulf and we can never protect our revolution. The enemy is certainly stronger than the exploited and unarmed people. But, equally certainly, this superiority is only temporary. We will successfully throw it out of gear, thanks to our revolutionary initiative and our determination to follow the path of protracted people's struggle, which is the only way to weaken the temporary superiority of the enemy. It is also the, way to turn our temporary weakness successfully into an important force. Our determination with regard to the policy of armed struggle as a fundamental principle and as a strategy, and the necessity to use violence throughout the area, do not mean that we must give up other methods of struggle. Armed struggle can never be realised if it is not supported by other

3. A woman member of the People's Militia.

4. Children at the Lenin School: the pupils carry out their own cooking and guard duties.

types of fighting. There are primary and secondary means of struggle and we must always apply both without confusion.

The imperialists and their allies, the local rulers and all reactionaries have concentrated their forces and activities in the cities. Therefore it is important for the revolution to direct its energies towards those villages where the population is most underdeveloped and to build up strong bases and revolutionary strongholds there. This does not mean that we leave the importance of the cities out of consideration. It is impossible for the revolution to exist and to triumph without receiving revolutionary support from the cities and without revolutionary activity not spreading and including both the villages and the cities, where the enemy's military centres and bases are situated.

The Historical Character of the Revolution

What is the historical character of the revolution in the present situation? Since the enemies of the revolution are represented by imperialism, feudalism, and the comprador bourgeoisie:

(1) The revolution must be capable of crushing imperialism and achieving independence.

(2) The revolution must also be thoroughly democratic and must be capable of crushing the allies of imperialism—tribalism, autocracy, feudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie. This means that the revolution in the Gulf is a national democratic revolution.

If we do not follow a clear line corresponding to the demands of a people's democracy, the revolution will become stagnant and will be unable to win the national struggle. These two revolutionary tasks are tightly linked to each other.

Obviously the nature of revolutionary democracy is different from bourgeois democracy. Only the progressive forces can solve the democratic tasks of the revolution. The democracy for which the revolution is fighting and for which the masses are striving is certainly a democracy of a new kind. It is a new and revolutionary democracy.

The tasks and purposes of the national democratic revolution for which we must fight and on which the unity of all groups and national classes in the Gulf area are to be based are interpreted by the People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf as follows.

The Tasks of the National Democratic Revolution

(*a*) *The Local Dimension*

1. The liberation of the area from all forms of colonialism and the realisation of complete independence.
2. The eradication of all tribal and autocratic regimes.
3. The eradication of the division of the area and the realisation of political unity.
4. The eradication of all forms of feudalism.
5. The eradication of slavery and the abolition of all slave relations.
6. The establishment of a popular democratic authority.
7. The ending of exploitation by the comprador class.
8. The liquidation of all forms of foreign monopoly.
9. The liberation of the national market from all ties to the international capitalist market.
10. The building up of an independent national economy with an agricultural and a heavy industrial base.
11. The freeing and release of the energies of the masses who are the real beneficiaries of the revolution.
12. The mobilisation of the people's resources politically and militarily.
13. The building up of a strong revolutionary army.
14. The eradication of differences in development between rural and urban areas.
15. The liberation of women from all forms of political, social and family oppression.
16. The attack on colonialist culture and the building of a revolutionary national culture.
17. The eradication of social injustice and the provision of a decent living for every citizen.
18. The combating of moral, administrative and political corruption.
19. The combating of poverty, illiteracy, disease and all forms of backwardness in society.
20. The guaranteeing of full rights for minorities and foreign communities.
21. The freedom of religious belief and affiliation.

(*b*) *The Arab Dimension*

22. Working towards the unity of progressive nationalist groups in the Arab world.
23. The effective participation in the Arab revolutionary movement in order to complete the tasks of the national democratic stage and to build up the united Arab socialist community.
24. The establishment of stronger relations between the masses of the Arab homeland who are the main force in the struggle now being waged between the Arab masses and the forces of colonialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction.

25. The exposure of reactionary Arab regimes which serve the forces of imperialism and Zionism.
26. The unification of the Palestinian nationalist organisations in the protracted people's struggle against Zionism and world imperialism and against their interests in the area, which is the correct way to liberate Palestine and destroy the presence of Zionism.

(c) *The International Dimension*
27. The consideration of the national democratic revolution in the Gulf as part of the international nationalist revolutionary movement.
28. The commitment of support to the struggles of oppressed peoples in the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are waging a just struggle against the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism and against racialist entities and movements in the world.
29. The participation with the international socialist and progressive forces in their historic struggle against the forces of imperialism and world capitalism.

The People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf, June 1971.

II. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ARAB GULF

6. Statement from the National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf on the Deposition of Sultan Said bin Taimur, July 1970.

The only way the imperialists can try to solve the problems of this area is to change the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. They hope that the revolution, which began in Dhofar on 9 June 1965 and which spread to the Jabal Akhdar on 12 June 1970, is directed only against Sultan Said, whose barbarous rule had lasted for 38 years. They imagine that the revolution was unaware that all these clients rulers in the Gulf can act only with orders from their colonialist masters. However the revolution knows that throughout the long years of British intervention these masters have changed local rulers as circumstances have dictated, in order to increase the degree of exploitation of the region's resources.

The deposition of Said bin Taimur is by no means the first such farce. Sixty years ago, in a similar performance, the British forced Sheikh Issa bin Ali, the then ruler of Bahrain, to abdicate in favour of his son, Ahmad bin Issa. In Sharjah in 1965, they also deposed Sheikh Saqr al-Qasimi in favour of Khalid al-Qasimi, and in Abu Dhabi a year later Sheikh Shakhbut was forced to abdicate in favour of the present ruler, Sheikh Zaid. Muscat has now joined the list, and the British have forced Said bin Taimur to hand power over to his son Qabus.

Imperialism in this part of the world is primarily concerned with the continued pillage of our country's oil resources, as well as with certain strategic considerations. To this end, they are quite prepared to get rid of pre-existing local rulers in favour of new ones who will serve the interests of imperialism better, either by permitting the increased exploitation of oil, or by inviting in more monopoly companies who then derive superprofits from ventures in places such as Dubai and Abu Dhabi. We are well aware of who really benefits from these changes,

and that the oil companies make much larger profits in Abu Dhabi, for example, now that Sheikh Shakhbut has been deposed. The resources of the area, predominantly oil, are controlled by imperialist firms and this is evident from the relationship of the area's economy to the international capitalist market.

Oman's current oil production is roughly equal to that of Egypt. But those who benefit are the oil monopolies, the mercenaries of the army, the English officers and advisers, and the Sultan himself. The popular classes are excluded. Increases in production do not affect the country, especially since the companies tend not to employ Omanis; instead they prefer to bring in workers from Pakistan and India and to pay them higher wages. Thereby, they reduce the risk of industrial disputes, and prevent a local working class from forming; such a proletariat would be able to play a major role in any nationalist movement.

Much of the wealth acquired by these companies is handed over to the Sultan in the form of revenue, and is then spent on fighting the people's revolution in Dhofar. Many innocent people, Baluchi mercenaries or beduin drafted from the deserts, have been forced into the Sultan's armed forces without realising what is happening; then, when they have been brought near the battlefield in Dhofar, they are made to fight their brothers.

For many years Sultan Said maintained his eccentric kind of rule: he kept up to 4,000 slaves in Salalah, and issued decrees which a foreigner would find it hard to believe. Smoking in the streets of Muscat was banned, as was the shaving of beards, and in Dhofar the wearing of sandals. It was forbidden to move at night around Muscat town; in the countryside music was forbidden, and in Dhofar sunglasses and medicine were banned. Since these unbelievable laws aroused considerable hatred among a wide section of the people, the new Sultan is, at this stage, eagerly trying to let it be known that the people are able to wear sunglasses and medically necessary glasses without fear of reprisal . . . from the Sultan.

Imperialism is intelligent in the way it draws up its plans; it is well aware of the problems faced by different societies. When there is a change of ruler, there are obviously going to be music and festivities, which were banned the day before, and propaganda in favour of the reforms which the new regime is going to introduce. The oil companies will increase production several times over, as they did in Abu Dhabi in 1966-1967 after the change of ruler there; and this additional income will enable the Sultan to reward the hack journalists and others who will now be visiting Muscat.

However, the revolution is not directed against these ludicrous characters, but against British imperialism. Britain has maintained a state of complete backwardness and poverty in the region, implementing barbaric laws and carrying out genocide in Dhofar. The sheikhs and Sultans are only following orders given to them by the British Political Resident and by their British advisers. Despite its resources, and its large population, Oman was never allowed to develop, nor did the British allow a single school or hospital to be built in the country, although it had about one and a half million inhabitants. When challenged, the British make feeble excuses, blaming it all on the local rulers who, they say, have complete freedom to run "their own internal affairs".

Only recently, Britain refused to depose Sultan Said. When Sheikh Zaid of Dubai visited Britain in 1968, he urged that there be a change of Sultan in Oman so that the revolution would be finished. The British would not listen to these suggestions. But when PFLOAG succeeded in capturing most of Dhofar, and liberating Sadh, Dhalqut and Rakhyut, three of the most important towns, the British decided to launch a large-scale military intervention to crush the revolution. Events, however, took a different course, and an armed revolution then broke out in the interior of northern Oman. A *National Front* was formed, and it encompassed all those nationalists who wanted to expel Britain from Oman and the Gulf, overthrow the Sultans, rescue our country from the Middle Ages, and institute progressive changes. This revolution upset many of the imperialists' plans; it caused concern to the local reactionaries, as well as to Saudi Arabia and to Iran. It is this situation which explains certain other related developments—the delay in Britain's withdrawal, the suspension of Iran's claim to Bahrain, and Saudi Arabian support for the setting up of the United Arab Amirates.

The 23 July coup, which overthrew Sultan Said, is only the first act in the whole charade. It is meant to be followed by an attack on Muscat by Imam Ghalib who will have rallied some tribes to him. Then there will be a peace agreement similar to that in North Yemen in 1970, in which the Imam will be restored to his former status and the interests of imperialism's clients will be guaranteed. A mass campaign to promote these bogus measures will follow. Such will be the course of events under the new Sultan.

Tariq bin Taimur (the new Sultan's uncle—*ed.*), whom the imperialists are trying to make look like some exiled patriot and a reformer, is the same man who spearheaded the British military assault on the popular rebellion of 1957. Financed by the *Petroleum Development (Oman)* oil company, he was responsible for massacres and torture in the north Omani interior. Then, when later he fell out with Said, Tariq left Oman to travel abroad and he remained in reserve for future eventualities.

Qabus is a spoilt child, who now lives amidst the luxury of his father's palaces in Dhofar. He is a phantom ruler, who follows the advice both of his British advisers and of his ailing father in London. This derisory figure has been installed by the British to placate the frightened sheikhs in the Amirates. Qabus is unable to offer this country anything.

The revolution will have nothing to do with this despicable regime. Our people will derive no benefit from these changes, and they are determined to put an end to British intervention and to the rule of Sultans and sheikhs. They intend to establish an administration which will guarantee political freedom for all citizens and guarantee everyone bread, knowledge, progress and control over their own affairs.

The National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf, 25 July 1970.

7. The British-backed Plan for a Union of the Six Amirates

After a series of meetings attended by the British Political resident in Dubai, the Imperialists yesterday announced the formation of a Union of six Amirates—Abu-Dhabi, Dubai, Fujaira, Ajman, Umm al Qaiwain, and Sharjah. This has come after long and violent disputes between the imperialists—between Britain and the US, between Saudi Arabia and Iran, and between the local clients themselves. All the forces involved in these internecine quarrels have at the same time been terrified of the mass movement growing in the Amirates and of the revolution, which has erupted in Dhofar under the Leadership of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.

The development of the revolutionary movement in the occupied Arab Gulf has frightened the imperialists into attempting to forge another "Aden" in the region. At Britain's instigation, the local rulers have regrouped politically and have conspired to establish an artificial entity, to resist the mass movement and the revolution, both of which threaten to destroy imperialism and the interests of local reaction in our region. Neither Britain, nor the other imperialist powers are really interested in the unification of the region—after all, Britain was historically responsible for its fragmentation. But they are all intent on unifying the forces of repression and on fabricating a single political entity which will be strong enough to resist the nationalist movement. At the same time they are determined to maintain the divisions of the region by creating "city states". These divided backward statelets are lucrative markets for imported consumer goods and this facilitates imperialist expropriation of our people's resources. An additional bonus to the imperialists is that

these economic ties ensure permanent involvement in the political and economic affairs of these statelets.

Imperialism has intensely promoted its plans for the Gulf. Britain contributed to setting up the Union through its Political Residents and its roving colonial adviser Sir William Luce. The United States sent its fleet and diplomatic representatives to visit the area. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have also played a part by sending delegations to tell the ignorant sheikhs how to implement the plans drawn up in London and Washington. Iran for its part has both threatened and appealed to the sheikhs to implement the plan. Yet, while these forces were unanimously promoting the projected Union, they were also plotting against each other to advance their own individual interests.

The Union of Six was then formed—and imperialist intentions soon became clear. The combination of the Union of the Six, independence for Qatar and Bahrain, and the suspension of a decision of Ras al-Khaimah until after settlement of the disputes over the islands and the Massandam peninsula—these seemed the best ways to serve the interests of the imperialist forces.

This comedy in the Amirates must be seen within the context of the farcical accession to power of Qabus in Oman, of the bombing and strafing of the liberated areas of Dhofar, of mass arrests throughout Oman and Bahrain, and of the "plans" for a kind of modernisation and development. These factors are all interconnected; together they serve the cause of imperialism and exploitation in our area.

PFLOAG and NDFLOAG have clearly stated their position on this bogus Union and on all other imperialist plans for our region. They have declared that these masquerades are designed to strengthen imperialism's stranglehold and to perpetuate the fragmentation of our territory in the interests of the oil companies. At the same time they will protect the position of the feudal, tribal, ruling families.

The two organisations stress their determination to unite the people of this region, while rejecting all those solutions cooked up in London, Washington, Teheran and Riyadh; these plans have nothing to do with the wishes of our people, their right to freedom of expression, and their right to self-determination. The Fronts declare that this new creation of imperialism is only another device, designed to distract the attention of the people from their real enemy, and from the crushing exploitation they continually suffer. It is a toy in the hands of the expansionist Iranian regime and of the reactionary Saudi regime. It cannot defend Arabism in the Gulf, as its apologists claim, nor can it give effect to the aspirations of the people. The declarations of the two organisations and the stand taken

by PFLOAG's third congress on the question of the Union, have defined the only correct revolutionary response to these imperialist plans —organised revolutionary violence.

Today PFLOAG and NDFLOAG declare their total rejection of the union, and assert that mass armed struggle will defeat these reactionary imperialist plans. This is the only way to create a liberated Arab State in our region, and to protect the interests of our people. The only way the client rulers, the Amirs can improve conditions is by setting up a Union, dominated by foreign interests, from Britain, the US, Iran and so on.

PFLOAG and NDFLOAG call on all progressive states and forces in the Arab world and in the world to oppose this so-called Union and to expose its direct links with Anglo-US imperialism, and with the local reactionary rulers.

Long live the heroic struggle of our people for unification, liberation and the establishment of a popular government!

Down with all reactionary, imperialist plans!

National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Occupied Arab Gulf, People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf, July 1971.

8. The Iranian Military Occupation of the Arab Islands in the Arab Gulf—Abu Musa, and the Large and Small Tumbs

The client states of the middle Gulf (Bahrain, Qatar—*ed.*) have now acquired their fake independence and have been accepted into the Arab League and the United Nations, and the imperialists and the reactionaries have therefore succeeded in carrying out one part of their projected manoeuvre. A further stage has now begun: they have announced that an artificial Union of Amirates has been set up and will become independent tomorrow. At the same time these states are continuing to co-operate with Britain, a policy in which they are being encouraged by reactionary Arab states around the Gulf. This is a consequence of the activities of Sir William Luce (Governor of Aden, 1956-60, Political Resident in the Gulf, 1960-66, Director of the Eastern Bank, 1966-70—*ed.*), Britain's "special envoy to the Gulf, who has made a series of visits to the area since Britain announced her intention to withdraw at the end of 1971. These Amirates have handed the Arab islands over to the Shah and in return have received a token compensation estimated by the British as the value of the three islands. Iran has in fact taken these islands by force as part of a more general plan, the aim of which is to reinforce the influence of

the Shah's regime and to give it control of the strategic waters at the mouth of the Gulf, through which the oil tankers all pass.

The struggle of the working mass of the Arab Gulf has advanced, and the armed struggle has also intensified. At the same time, the enemy has been trying to crush the revolutionary movement in Dhofar, the southern part of the Gulf, and has failed to do so. British imperialism has therefore developed a policy of isolating the revolution and confining it to Dhofar, hoping to prevent it from spreading to those other parts of the Gulf where the major oil interests are found.

The *People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf* has pointed out in numerous statements that these artificial states, and the projected Union between them, are intended to reinforce the partition of the area. This forms part of a blatant imperialist conspiracy against the people of the Gulf, designed to reinforce imperialist interests and to ensure that the monopolies can continue looting the area's resources. Despite what some Arab countries state, the Union is *not* in the interests of the Arabism of the area. PFLOAG has also explained that, although these creations have received recognition from the Arab League and from the United Nations, they do not possess the qualifications for such a recognition as independent states and they could not remain in existence without foreign protection. Nevertheless, the allegedly progressive Arab states have virtually backed the colonialists' project, and have ignored the struggle of our people who are fighting and dying in the Gulf for the honour of our people and for the dignity and unity of our homeland. The Iranian occupation of the islands has now confirmed what we were saying and what we are still saying. It is a strong counter to those Arabs who supported the plan and who voted to back it in international assemblies. PFLOAG, for its part, considers that the occupation of the Arab islands by Iran is a matter of concern to all Arabs, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf.

The Iranian occupation was no chance event; nor was it just a result of the expansionist policies of the Shah. It resulted from the imperialist policies prepared by Sir William Luce during his numerous visits to the Gulf and to Iran, and by the local rulers themselves, who have made repeated suspicious trips to that country.

It is PFLOAG's position that the only way to defeat the imperialists' plans, to hit at their strong points, and to recover lost territories, is through organised revolutionary violence and the unity of all revolutionary groups in the region, as well as through the extension of armed struggle to the whole of the Gulf. The people of the Gulf will not permit another Palestine to be established in their homeland; they reaffirm their determination to continue until victory, whatever the sacrifices involved.

PFLOAG considers that Britain is still responsible for these islands, and that they are still under the system of British protection. The Front condemns this aggressive act, which is a violation of international law, and it calls on all revolutionary and progressive groups and countries in the Arab and world arenas to stand by our people in their just struggle against the Iranian invasion, and to force Iran to withdraw its forces from the Arab islands which they have occupied.

Long Live the 9 June and 12 June Revolutions!
Long Live the Arab and World Revolutions!
Death and Destruction to all Imperialists and Reactionaries!

The People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf, 1 December 1971.

9. The Iranian Attack upon the Liberated Areas

At the present moment the central region of southern Oman is undergoing an intense military attack. Iranian forces, which have been invited in by the traitorous regime in Muscat, and mercenary troops led by British officers, have been engaged in a military campaign against the revolution and the people of the area since 20 December 1973. Sultan Qabus has officially submitted a request to the Shah, asking him to send in a large number of Iranian forces to fight the revolution, and the present Iranian campaign is the result of this.

These events have amply demonstrated the treacherous nature of the Qabus regime, and have proved how ready it is to sacrifice the sovereignty of our country by inviting in the forces of expansionist Iran. They will oppress the Omani people and thereby keep this decaying government in existence.

Only a few years have elapsed since Qabus' reign of darkness began, but they have been sufficient to reveal the regime's true character: all patriotic and democratic Omani forces have refused to be identified with it, and the masses have resisted it heroically. Hundreds of people have been imprisoned, killed and driven into exile. Patriotic tribesmen have also refused to take arms to fight their fellow-countrymen in the southern region of Oman. The regime has thereby found itself isolated, with no popular base to enable it to prevent its inevitable collapse. This is why the regime has thrown itself into the arms of the Shah, its new master, who will help to save it and will co-operate in oppressing the people of Oman.

Qabus has quite consciously and happily placed Oman under Iranian control, and the Iranians are keen to expand their power over it, because of its key position, and because of its natural resources. This has been shown by the occupation of the islands of Abu Musa, and the Large and Small Tumbs. Qabus has turned Oman into an Iranian protectorate and has tried to coerce the Omani people into capitulating to reaction and imperialism. He and his British advisers have asked the Iranian forces to fight the people of Oman and its armed revolution in the southern region, because the British officers and commandos used in 1971 failed to crush the revolution, as did the campaign of distortion and demoralisation which Qabus organised to divide the people and enourage tribal divisions amongst them.

PFLOAG has consistently uncovered the role played by Qabus—from the day in 1972 when he surrendered the island of Umm al Ghanam to the Shah and placed the Omani parts of Cape Massandam and of the Hormuz Straits under the naval and air control of Iran. PFLOAG has also warned that this regime will not hesitate to carry out even more treacherous acts against the Omani people, and against the dignity and sovereignty of the homeland. This has been proven more than once.

In the aftermath of the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war, PFLOAG made it clear that US imperialism had been disturbed by the heroic role played by the Arab armies: it is now trying to offset these military and political gains by imposing a capitulationist solution on the Arabs. Criminal plans are now being prepared against the Palestinian revolution and the whole Arab national liberation movement. PFLOAG has also warned of the reactionary and imperialist plots now being prepared against the southern parts of the Arabian peninsula, against the progressive regime in Democratic Yemen and against the armed revolution in Oman.

The aims of the Iranian campaign are to occupy Oman and to crush the revolution. As such, it forms part of a wider imperialist plan for the whole region. The Iranian offensive is using the current stage of affairs in the Arab world to carry out its liquidationist plans.

At this time, when Britain is being increasingly aggressive towards our country and when Qabus is willingly being used as a pawn in the Shah's expansionist policy, the position of PFLOAG is clear. We shall neither compromise with the client regime in Muscat, nor agree to co-existence with it. The Front will fight the Iranian offensive, and the Omani people will prove to the Shah's expansionist regime that our people are capable of defending their country and of turning Oman into a graveyard for the Iranian invaders and their clients.

The Front calls on all Omani patriots to take arms to defend their

homeland, and it appeals to all national and democratic forces and classes to consolidate in the face of the enemy. The Front urges all national forces to forget their differences and to rise in order to fulfil their historic responsibility in defence of the homeland. The Arab people of Oman are facing the most critical situation in their modern history, just as the Arab nation is facing a critical test, after waging the October war with such great heroism.

Imperialism is giving its client in Teheran the role of suppressing the Omani revolution and the Omani masses, who took up arms in 1965 in defence of their liberty and in order to attain real independence: this dirty task is being carried out with the full co-operation of the treacherous regime in Muscat.

PFLOAG urges all Arab national democratic forces and the nationalist regimes in the Arab world to stand by our people, and to offer all possible support to it in its struggle against this Iranian invasion. The Iranian expansionists are occupying yet another part of Arab land, while the territory of two other Arab countries and the whole of Palestine is still under Israeli occupation. We also urge all the socialist countries and all progressive organisations and states in the world to oppose and to denounce this invasion, and to support our people in their heroic struggle to resist the invaders.

We are confident that just as our people defeated the offensive of the British commandos in 1971 it will now defeat the Iranian attack. Oman will bury the Iranian invaders.

Long Live the 9 June Revolution and the Struggling Masses!

Down with all Traitors who Corrupt the Honour of our People and our Country!

The People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf
26 December 1973.

10. The Arab League Commission on Oman

More than three months after the armed Iranian invasion of Oman in December 1973, and following the visit made by Sultan Qabus to the Shah of Iran in February 1974 and his conclusion of secret and public agreements which diminish the status and dignity of our homeland, and after the Iranian invasion began to attract extensive attention in the Arab world and internationally because it poses great dangers not only to the

Omani people but also to the Arab nation and to peace and security in the world—after all these serious events, some reactionary Arab countries have responded to the heroic struggle waged by our people for more than nine years and the grave sacrifices incurred by them, by calling for a "settlement" of what they call "the conflict" between the progressive regime in Democratic Yemen and the traitorous regime in Muscat. They have completely forgotten why our people are waging an armed revolution and have ignored the fact that Qabus is just a servant of the colonialists and of their client, the Shah of Iran. The Arab League has replied to the Iranian military invasion of Oman, to the annexation of Omani territories and islands and to the complete submission of the Qabus regime to Iran by the mere formation of a fact-finding commission which will meet the "parties concerned in the conflict".

We wish to point out to our people and to the Arab nation the following facts:

1. The revolution of 9th June 1965 is a continuation of the national uprisings staged by the Omani people against the British occupation since the traitorous regime in Muscat first concluded treaties with the British colonialists. The Omani people have not lain down but have continued to take arms against the invaders and to fight repeatedly for freedom, independence and the expulsion of the colonialists. Britain has continued to protect the regime in Muscat from the anger of the people and has launched attack after attack against the Omani people. When Britain occupied the Jabal Akhdar in 1955 this marked the continuation of the subordination of the Sultanate to the British colonialists.

All the uprisings and struggles waged by our people have been directed against the British occupation. In 1957 our people secured the support of their Arab brothers. Moreover all the Arab countries admitted that the cause of the Omani people is a just one and that it needs every support from the Arab world and from the Arab League. The League supported our people's revolution, and when the 9th June revolution began, it stood by our side and enabled us to open offices in Cairo.

2. The nature of British colonialism in Muscat has not changed since the accession of Qabus to power in such a way as to justify Arab countries and the Arab League in changing their attitude to the Omani revolution.

In Muscat there has only been a modification of appearances in line with changes elsewhere in the Gulf. The Arab world should remember that Britain announced it would withdraw from the Arab Gulf area but did not withdraw from Oman. Oppressive military and political agreements have remained as have the military bases in Masirah and at Salalah. In

5. February 1974: Sultan Qabus of Oman pays court to the Shah of Iran and Queen Farah.

6. A literacy class in the liberated areas: since the Second Congress of 1968, the Front has made the elimination of illiteracy one of its social priorities.

fact, the British military presence has *increased* several times over under Qabus.

Britain has wanted to pull the rug from underneath the revolution in order to preserve its influence and bases. But the Omani people have discovered what is going on and have continued their struggle. This forced the British to introduce extensive changes into their plans. They have tried to localise the war in Dhofar by making Omanis fight each other. But the consciousness of the Omani people and the stamina of the revolution have foiled this plan.

They then tried to Arabise the war by seeking the help of the Jordanian Army after the Black September massacres in Jordan and the Jordanians are still committing crimes against the Omani people. Following this, Anglo-American collusion brought mercenaries to Oman from many countries and the CENTO pact was allotted the task of liquidating our people. This was what led to the massive Iranian intervention that began on 20 December 1973.

Foreign interference in Oman has increased enormously during the reign of Qabus and Oman became a lucrative target for the greedy. In all its history Oman has not seen foreign interference like that of today.

3. The Iranian occupation of Oman is a result of Anglo-American collusion in the Gulf. After the occupation of the three Omani islands by Iran in 1971, Britain through its agent Qabus handed over Cape Massandam and Al-Ghanam island to the Iranians. The Muscat regime then allowed the Iranian invaders into Dhofar so that they now control the whole of Oman and threaten neighbouring Arab countries. Moreover, the joint statement signed by Qabus and the Shah of Iran in March 1974, was politically, economically and militarily a blatant document of abdication to the Iranian throne. Iranian desires in the Arabian Gulf area are no secret to the Arab world and are at present being implemented in Oman under an Anglo-Qabusite umbrella. The treason committed by Qabus in allowing the Iranian army to cross to the other side of the Gulf is without parallel in Omani history.

We therefore condemn this regime. We reject it and consider that the most important task facing our people is to overthrow this regime and save our homeland from invaders and traitors.

4. There is no need to forge facts. Our people are fighting because there is a foreign presence in their land and because there are British military bases and military agreements with Britain. Moreover, there are now more than 11,000 Iranian soldiers protecting the regime from the anger of the people.

Our people began fighting in 1965 when they were not adjacent to any liberated Arab state. Our people also rose in arms in 1955-59 and incurred hundreds of martyrs. Then they were supported by the whole Arab World. Our people will continue their struggle because they are defending a just cause and their right to self-determination, independence and freedom.

We reject the allegation that Democratic Yemen is a party to the dispute now going on in Oman between our people and the foreign invaders. Our people liberated much of the territory inside the southern region of Oman in the first years of the revolution, and the military operations which are launched against the British bases in Salalah are only launched from these liberated areas. The Omani people are not fighting in Dhofar alone. They rose several times in the Northern Omani interior, most recently in the uprising of 12 June 1970 and in the workers' uprising of September 1971. Moreover the waves of arrest seen in our country were concentrated on inner Oman in 1972-1973, when the British authorities and Jordanians launched an extensive campaign which led to the imprisonment of hundreds of people—tribal sheikhs, men of religion, workers, peasants, women, officials, students and bedouin. The authorities are still carrying out periodic arrest campaigns in the Omani interior for fear of any act which the Omani masses under the leadership of their vanguard the People's Front may commit.

The colonialists are building a lot of fortified positions and bases; they have imposed a state of permanent control around inner Oman, have erected fences around the towns of Dhofar and have imposed an economic blockade against the liberated rural areas.

5. The People's Front has on several occasions and in its national democratic programme stated the just demand of our people that the colonialist occupation, all foreign interference and all military bases which threatened the security of our people and the Arab nation should be ended. The people also demand:
— That a popular, national democratic regime open to all the people and all national elements should be established.
— That public freedoms for all citizens should be guaranteed to all.
— That repressive laws and repressive measures used by the British and their servants in Muscat should be abolished.
— That the rights of the workers, employees, peasants and all other sections of the population should be guaranteed.
— That there should be a proper economic policy, preserving our national rights, developing the economic potentialities of our homeland, and liberating our resources from colonialist influence.
— That colonialist culture should be combatted as should its hostility

to the revolutionary traditions of our people, and a proper educational policy should be laid down.
— That our country should follow a non-aligned and free foreign policy.
— That our country should struggle as part of the Arab nation to realise the supreme objective, Arab unity.

We have pointed these facts out to all our Arab brothers and following the crude statements made by the Foreign Minister of Oman at the Islamic Summit in Lahore, we were expecting the Arab League to take the initiative of expelling the Muscat Government because it had committed crimes against the nation which broke every rule of the Arab League and because it allowed the Iranian invaders to cross the straits into Arab territories thus threatening the entire Arab Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula. Instead of forming a fact-finding commission, the Arab League was in duty bound to ask Qabus to expel the Iranians and the British, and to abolish all military bases.

The Arab League should have stood firmly against Iranian expansion and declared its support for the Omani people. It should have made all its members help the revolution, so that our people could check the invaders.

With whom will the commission carry out its role?

Will it be with us and the British who are occupying Oman, and who have been fought and still are being fought by the Omani people in order to secure a real independence? Or will it be with us and the Iranian invaders who are threatening the security of the Gulf, its Arab character and its future? Or will it be with the people and the fake government set up by the British in Muscat to hide their own presence there?

We call on all nationalist Arab countries to take a clear stand on the just cause of our people and to rectify the mistake committed by them when they accepted the Sultanate of Muscat as a member of the Arab League despite the fact that it has never secured independence. We also ask the Arab league to support the revolution in expelling the British and the Iranian invaders so that our people can play their part in Arab and international affairs.

We reject any mediation with the treacherous regime in Muscat and request the Arab League to send a fact-finding commission to get acquainted itself with the British military presence in our country and with the Iranian military intervention. We also invite it to visit the liberated areas to witness the heroism of the Omani masses in the face of the destruction wrought by the British Royal Air Force and the aircraft of the Shah of Iran in Dhofar, and the people's determination

to continue the struggle. We are confident that our Arab brothers will never side with the Iranian invaders, will not participate in committing crimes against the Omani people and will not extend any political or military assistance to the client regime in Muscat.

The Central Executive Committee,
The People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf,
5 April 1974.

III. STATEMENTS ON INTERNAL MATTERS

11. On the Reactionary 12 September Conspiracy: the Attempted Counter-Revolution in Eastern Dhofar

The correct way to understand recent developments in Eastern Dhofar is by an analysis of the phase through which the struggle of the working masses in the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula is now passing, and through an understanding of the way in which conflicting forces are trying to gain ground. Through analysing the present characteristics of the struggle in the Gulf in particular and in the Arab world as a whole, we shall try to define what the forces of revolution and of counter-revolution are, and we hope that this will enable the reader to see how the events in Eastern Dhofar are a reflection of the world-wide struggle between these genuinely revolutionary forces and international imperialism and its class allies. These events cannot be separated from the overall pattern of colonialism in the area, and from the general policy of world imperialism towards colonial and oppressed peoples of the world over, one of going all out to crush their difficult and sincere struggles. Any such separation would only prevent us, and the reader, from really understanding the situation in the Gulf, and in the Arab countries and the world as a whole. It would stop us from seeing what the plans of world imperialism are, and from understanding how it is now trying to fight the struggle of the poor masses both in the Arab countries and internationally.

The Nature of the Contending Forces

British colonialism and US imperialism have been exploiting the resources of the Arab world for over a century and a quarter. They have established their military bases in the area, in order to be in a position to cope with every possible revolutionary threat in the Arab world, and in the world generally. Britain in particular, flanked by its allies, has made concerted efforts to prevent national revolution from spreading;

using its widespread power and its local class allies, it was able to quell the first nationalist uprisings in Oman, Bahrain and Qatar (i.e. in 1957-59, 1954-56 and 1963 respectively, see Document 18—*ed.*). It has wanted to impose its domination, and to protect both its own interests, and those of its allies.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the area has experienced nationalist unrest and this has spread to several parts of the peninsula. The triumph of the revolution in South Yemen and the expulsion of British colonialism from there had the great result of establishing a secure base for revolutionary struggle in the Gulf. This was followed by US imperialism replacing British imperialism as the dominant power. American capital began to pour into the area, in preparation for an expansion of US military bases, which would in turn enable it to dominate the area still further and enable it to take over the interests of an ailing British imperialism through its access to capital. America would then exercise a direct monopoly over the market, once it had replaced the older colonialist power with a neo-colonialist system more suitable to the present situation. This control is reflected both through the power of foreign capital, and through its full control over our national resources.

The discovery of oil in the Gulf has also brought about a radical change in the social structure of the area, in its economic, political and class structure. Not only did class forces and politics change, but so did the nature of the struggle within Gulf society. British imperialism and its allies therefore responded by developing new policies to safeguard its economic, strategic and political interests in the area. They set up a number of fake states which were designed to act as satellites, and to give effect to imperialist plans. The social character of these fabrications is shown by the fact that they are run by the Amirs, Sheikhs and tribal elements who are closely tied to colonialism and international imperialism by material and class interests, and who are now acting as guardians of imperialist interests. The attempt to crush and to disregard the working people was to be carried out through this kind of camouflage, and through these artificial regimes run by imperialism's employees. Reactionary forces of this kind have always been used to introduce the interests of imperialism, both economically and strategically, and through them imperialism dominates the oppressed masses, who themselves want to be liberated from imperialism and reaction. The poor masses want to build a society for themselves which will terminate the exploitation of one human being by another.

The wide-ranging enemy alliance includes both British and US imperialism, and the Amirs, Sheikhs, bourgeois, landlords and feudalists of the region. On the other side it is faced by a broad national front, including

all those class forces who have an interest in the revolution, as well as other sectors of the population who have an interest in bringing this state of affairs to an end. The vanguard of those who are opposed to colonialism and imperialism are the poor workers, poor peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals; they form the main force in the struggle with international imperialism and its class allies. These forces have shouldered the responsibility of the present national stage of the revolution and have undertaken to lead it and to bring it to fulfilment. As a class-bound, poor and oppressed force, they cannot take responsibility for the national democratic phase without a complete and total liquidation of all forms of colonialism, both old and new, and without stamping out tribally-based feudalism. They can only attain their goal through a revolutionary practice, through hard struggle, and through a qualitative and quantitative expansion of their challenge to the forces of international imperialism. The prime means of doing this is to escalate the armed national democratic revolutionary movement along three fronts—theoretically, politically and militarily. The only way to get rid of colonial and semi-colonial domination is to launch the Gulf on the road of protracted people's war, and to push it ahead with a national programme which will mobilise the material, human, and moral resources of the people in their sincere and just struggle.

The Role of the 9 June Revolution

The development of the national liberation movement and of the armed struggle against international imperialism and its class allies has brought class struggle in the world to a new, and decisive, stage. This growth of revolutionary struggle can be seen throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This national democratic liberation movement and its revolutionary military activities have become a source of great danger to imperialism and its allies; the experience of oppressed, revolutionary peoples the world over is a concrete proof of this. It is a revolutionary truth which cannot be doubted.

Even the briefest reading of the resolutions passed by the Second Conference of PFLOAG will demonstrate the range of these resolutions and how correct they have been, because they formed a coherent analysis and outlined a policy for combatting the policies being cooked up by the British imperialists, America and Arab reaction against the working people of this country and their national democratic movement. These resolutions flowed from the practical experience of the armed revolution, which has, for the first time, placed the area on the threshold of a decisive engagement with the forces of imperialism, and which has given the 9 June Revolution overall strategic solidity and a clearly defined position within the front of progressive forces. Owing to the serious and effective expression of the 9 June Revolution, and to its achievements

on behalf of the poor masses of the Gulf, it now constitutes a major danger to imperialism and Arab reaction in this area. In addition, the changes introduced within the ranks of the 9 June Revolution have coincided with the changes which began to appear quite clearly within the progressive nationalist movement throughout the Arab world after the defeat of 5 June 1967.

Since then, the Arab world has experienced a particularly strong attack from imperialism, which is designed to put an end to the revolutionary upsurges being seen in various places, and to liquidate the sources of these outbreaks. World imperialism and its class allies in the Gulf have evaluated this situation quite fully; they realise that if it continues and expands then their own interests will be threatened.

1970: the Imperialist Assault on the Gulf

It is now clearer than ever before that imperialism is on the offensive against the Middle East, and against the Gulf in particular. This imperialist, reactionary offensive has come to a head in the Gulf: it is here that the major interests of world imperialism are to be found, and where the exploitation of our enormous petroleum resources is taking place. Here too the revolution is spreading, and it now constitutes a real danger for colonialism, and for the interests of the monopolies. This is why policies are being implemented to counter this; colonialism and its local agents imagine that they can crush the revolution once and for all. Once these plans had been drawn up, the curtain rose on Act 1 of the charade, in which the client Qabus replaced his father, the client Said.

1. The Deposition of Sultan Said

It is not all surprising that this happened. It is a move against the national liberation movement in the Gulf specifically, as well as in the Arab countries and in the whole world. Such a client regime is the legitimate offspring of Anglo-American imperialism and of Arab reaction: the bogus promises of reform and of democracy made by the regime—such as the release of the people imprisoned by the deposed Sultan—are only part of a reactionary project, designed to liquidate the revolution, and crush the poor masses, and to distract them from their feelings of bitterness with promises that are either trivial or fraudulent.

2. The Divisive Move in the Eastern Region

This is where we would like to define the part which the divisive move in the Eastern Region plays in the general imperialist plan. The divisive move is a part of these aggressive moves: it is another link in a chain

of events, designed to liquidate the armed people's revolution throughout the Gulf. The move by the counter-revolutionary forces in the interior, and their disturbances on 12 September form a fundamental part of the imperialist conspiracy against our people.

Before the counter-revolutionary forces embarked on their divisive and reactionary move on 12 September 1970, they prepared the ground with confusion, and provoked an artifically strained situation: they spread gossip and various unfounded rumours amongst the masses, against the revolution and its revolutionary cadres. For example, they said:

> "The *People's Front* is Communist. All its political leaders are atheists, who are out to destroy religion and Islamic traditions. Most of the members of the General Command are delinquents and atheists. All the women in the enemy camps are prostitutes".

Through propaganda and similar fabrications, they were able to create difficulties between the People's Front, the revolutionary cadres and the General Command of PFLOAG on the one hand, and the mass of the people in the Eastern region, on the other. They were assisted by a number of individual and objective circumstances then prevailing in the area; under these circumstances, and in this unhealthy climate created by the counter-revolutionary forces in co-operation with the regime in Oman, the counter-revolutionary forces embarked on their divisive move on 12 September 1970. They arrested 40 cadres of the People's Liberation Army, members of the militia, and members of the General Command who were in the Eastern region. Their basic objective was to hand all those detained over to the regime; but they were prevented from doing so by the intervention of those members of the People's Liberation Army who were in the Eastern region after the divisive move. The objectives which the counter-revolutionary forces had were as follows:

(i) To eliminate the revolutionary cadres then in the Eastern Region —those in the People's Liberation Army, and in the people's militia.

(ii) Having achieved (i), to separate the East from the rest of the liberated area of Dhofar, and thereby to facilitate a siege of the remaining areas.

(iii) As a result of (i) and (ii) to liquidate the 9 June Revolution in stages, and to rob it of all its ideological, political and strategic achievements. In this way the counter-revolutionary forces would have achieved one of the basic components of their conspiracy against the people of the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula. This was what they hoped they would achieve, after carrying out their divisive move. This mean manoeuvre began on 12 September, and ended on the 30th. From the beginning, the revolutionary forces, including the People's Liberation Army, the people's militia, the

revolutionary cadres, and the General Command, together with the overwhelming majority of the masses, all stood together to confront this reactionary manoeuvre responsibly and in full awareness of what its long-term aims were. The people's revolutionary forces applied themselves promptly to prevent what the originators of the divisive move and their masters intended. Radical action succeeded in rescuing the revolution and the people from these divisive elements who wanted to create a situation of civil war, and to force the revolution and the people to fight each other.

3. The Other Part of the Imperialist Project: the Attempted Strike against the Revolution in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

Events in the Fourth and Fifth Governorates of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and the attack launched by counter-revolutionary forces (i.e. South Yemen exiles operating from Saudi Arabia—*ed.*) against these areas with the intention of separating them from the Republic proper, were all part of the attempt to liquidate the revolution in Arabia. They have the same objective as the divisive movement in the Eastern part of Dhofar. This enables us to see that the 12 September manoeuvre is not some accidental or extraneous phenomenon: it is an essential result of the struggle now being waged by the revolutionary forces against the forces of international imperialism and its class allies. The 12 September movement was smashed on the 30 September on the rock of our struggling people and of its brave revolutionary cadres. All other colonialists and imperialist conspiracies will be similarly broken on the same rock.

Long Live the 9 June Revolution!

Down with all Colonialist and Reactionary Conspiracies!

The People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf, 12 January 1971.

12. Announcement of a General Amnesty

Since 9 June 1965, our people have been engaged in a just, patriotic struggle against colonialism and reaction. In response to the revolution's victories in ending poverty and escalating the struggle, the imperialists have adopted increasingly vicious tactics to crush the struggle and to

reimpose slavery and exploitation. Our people have successfully resisted imperialism's conspiracies and vicious attacks. By their daily actions they have proved their ability to defend the revolution and to fight for complete victory.

Britain's failure to suppress the people under its former client, Said bin Taimur, finally led it in 1970, to replace him by Qabus. This involved them in resorting to a policy of neo-colonialism. This new client emerged, wearing a cloak of "nationalism and democracy", claiming that a new era of freedom and progress had begun. But he soon showed his real face in the counter-revolutionary 12 September 1970 plot in the Eastern region of Dhofar.

It was only natural that some popular, revolutionary, elements should be deceived by the empty promises of neo-colonialism and that this should lead them to desert the revolution and join the enemy's ranks in the belief that they would derive some benefit from the new administration.

Using the famous "divide and rule" principle, the regime mobilised those whom it had tempted into its ranks to fight a criminal war against their own people. Ever since the first act of the Qabus charade, the revolution has been aware of the true nature of this neo-colonial strategy. Although a massive campaign was initiated to raise consciousness and to warn the people against the dangers of being deceived, a number of popular and revolutionary elements still fell under the spell of the new strategy.

The real, reactionary, and colonial, nature of the regime is becoming clearer every day as its cruelty to the people increases. The regime's policy in Dhofar has up to now been characterised by successive waves of annihilation and of starvation waged under the rubric "kill and burn", as part of an attempt to force the people to submit. At the same time the regime, aware of its weakness in the face of popular determination and the continuing victories of the revolution, has also concentrated its propaganda machinery on a campaign to discredit the aims of the revolution.

In the last two years, many misled elements have discovered that the client regime and its British masters have no intention of abandoning their criminal policy; but they are afraid to return to their people in the revolution, since they are afraid of being executed for collaborating with the enemy. This is baseless propaganda put out by the reactionaries to divide the people and push them into a civil war which will only benefit the imperialists and reactionaries.

Because of its concern for all patriots, even those who have at some time gone astray and collaborated with the enemy, the revolution now declares a general amnesty for all those who were misled and now wish to rejoin their people and the revolution. The revolution promises in the name of the people and of its martyrs to adhere to the amnesty and guarantees the safety of all those who return to their people and the revolution.

This amnesty is a concrete result of the revolution's aim of rescuing all patriots from the dangers of reaction and imperialism. These latter will be smashed by the people's determination and by their armed revolution.

Long live the 9 June Revolution and the just struggle of our people! Death and disgrace to the enemy!

The People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf, Regional Leadership, Dhofar region.
15 October 1972.

13. Internal Statutes for People's Councils in the Dhofar Region

In order to adhere more closely to the principles of the "mass line", to develop mass participation in administering the liberated areas, and to develop both productivity and social and political relations in the countryside, People's Administrative Councils have been set up on a trial basis, to carry out the revolutionary administration of the liberated areas. This measure is a practical application of the revolution's progressive policies.

People's Councils are an important development of the democratic basis of the revolution: they put into practice the principle of relying on the broadest popular base. These Councils will bring about a change in the people's way of life, since they are based on an understanding of the people's daily problems, and a consideration of its needs and opinions. This will serve to promote suitable projects, and to use the people's unique potential to protect the revolution and to make progress.

The Formation of People's Councils

1. A People's Council, consisting of between eight and eleven members according to the size of the local population, shall be established in each region (there are four regions in Dhofar: Western, Mamarr, Central, Eastern—*ed.*).

2. The Council will include representatives of the following groups:
   (a) the local community
   (b) the administrators of the people's militia
   (c) the administrators of the People's Liberation Army.
3. The local community representatives shall form a majority on the Council.
4. Local community representatives shall be democratically elected by all the inhabitants of the area administered by the Council.
5. Representatives of the administration of the PLA shall be elected from amongst the members of the Army, and by its members.
6. Representatives of the militia administration shall be elected by that body from amongst its members.
7. The right to vote or to stand as a candidate shall be denied to those who have deserted the revolution or who have been dismissed, had their membership suspended, or been disarmed by the revolution's courts.
8. Citizens under 16 have no voting rights.
9. In the event of the death of a Council member, or sentence to death, dismissal, suspension of membership, or disarmament, by a revolutionary court, there shall be a new election in the relevant group according to articles 4, 5 or 6.
10. Elections shall be held annually. The PLA and the People's Militia shall have the right to replace their representatives on the Council in case of illness, absence on official business, or changes in the administration.
11. Sessions of the People's Councils shall be held monthly. Extraordinary sessions may be held at the request of the local leadership of the executive committee or the administration of the PLA or the militia in the relevant region.
12. Decisions and recommendations of the Council shall be adopted, if passed by a two-thirds majority.

Terms of Reference of the People's Councils

In every area, the People's Council shall be responsible for political, social and productive organisation and the development of community life. The Council shall form a democratic link between PFLOAG and the local community, in order that the Front's executive may be aware of the people's daily problems, their opinions, suggestions and criticisms. They can thus incorporate these considerations in developing the practice of the revolution, and in strengthening relations between the masses and the organisational vanguard.

13. The People's Council is the highest civilian authority, after the local PFLOAG leadership. Its suggestions, requests and decisions will be dealt with by the relevant committee of the leadership, the PLA or the Militia.

14. The People's Councils are competent to deal with the following matters:
    (a) The development and encouragement of community projects and the strengthening of ties with the revolution.
    (b) The collection of ideas, suggestions and criticisms from the local community and the incorporation of these factors into the development of the revolution.
    (c) The raising of political consciousness, by both informing and supporting the civilian population.
    (d) Exposing the ideas and propaganda of counter-revolutionary elements.
    (e) Exposing the activities of counter-revolutionary elements among the community.
    (f) The resolution of problems arising from residual tribal relations, such as blood feuds and inheritance problems.
    (g) The development of agriculture and herding, the organisation of irrigation, and the expansion of dams and reservoirs.
    (h) The education of the community concerning the importance of increased production, as well as exposure of the Sultan's attempts to destroy the rural economy by imposing an economic blockade on the liberated areas.
15. The People's Council shall have the right to establish subcommittees including members and non-members, to assist the Council in its affairs.

The People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf, 15 August 1972.

IV. JOINT COMMUNIQUES WITH OTHER REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATIONS

14. Joint Communique on the Talks held between the People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf and the National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf

On the invitation of the *People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf* to the General Command of the *National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf*, and after the explosion of armed revolution in the interior of Oman, detailed talks have been held between the PFLOAG and NDFLOAG delegations. They discussed all the important issues related to the revolution in the area, bilateral relations between the two Fronts, and major Arab and international issues.

The two delegations reviewed the politico-economic situation in Oman and in the occupied Arab Gulf, general developments in the area, and the neo-imperialist plan to tighten the grip of imperialism and of its clients. They discussed the means being employed by imperialism to crush the mass movement, and the suspicious developments taking place in the area, which are designed to destroy the revolutionary national democratic movement now developing in the Arabian peninsula.

The two Fronts consider that Oman and the occupied Gulf are now confronted with a widespread plan to tighten the grip which imperialism has in the area, together with that of the feudalist ruling families and of the oil companies, and which is also designed to intensify the relationship with the world market and with neo-capitalism by using new policies, which differ completely from the old ones pursued by British colonialism during its occupation of the area.

Faced with a growing mass consciousness, and an expanding nationalist movement throughout the area, and with armed revolution escalating

its attacks upon imperialism and its agents, and given the social changes the area has witnessed in the past quarter of a century with the growth of new social classes and the resultant sharpening of class conflict, the tribalist, feudalist ruling families have been unable to respond. Imperialism has perceptibly changed its policy towards the Gulf in the face of this new regional, Arab and international situation, and of a growing anti-imperialist movement.

British colonialism has declared that it will withdraw its forces and has set up a fake Union of client Amirates; it is doing this to try to arrest the deteriorating situation, which the British themselves have created during the years of their occupation. It is impossible for the clients and feudal families, who are unable to see very far, to go beyond their own interests and to work for the welfare of our people and for our progress. These declining feudal families are now playing the game of unity, since it offers new opportunities to the imperialists to tighten their grip. British colonialism, which kept Oman in a state of extreme ignorance and under-development, has now found it necessary to replace Sultan Said by Qabus, and to move from an old colonial policy to a neo-colonial approach: this is a result of the armed revolution in the interior of Oman and its capacity to eliminate domination by the reactionaries.

When the two Fronts condemn these changes within imperialism they do so in the realisation that these are designed to extract greater profits from the region and to strengthen control over our people, despite the fact that as a result of the growth of the revolution various concessions have been made. Within their general analysis of current developments in the Gulf, and of the backward situation in which our people still live, the Fronts consider that our region is still passing through the stage of national liberation, and that the responsibility for realising the tasks of this stage lies with all the nationalist forces in the area.

Sharing a common belief in the necessity for harsh, protracted, struggle against colonialism and its clients, and in the need to adopt all forms of struggle against their interests and those of their clients, and in the adoption of armed struggle as the basic means of accomplishing the task of the national democratic revolution, the two Fronts call on all nationalist forces in Oman and the Arab Gulf to come together in a broad national front against colonialism, to put an end to the rule of feudal families, establish a progressive national regime and realise all the accomplishments that are required at this stage. They stress the need for unity of all national forces and for full co-operation in all fields.

International imperialism and the reactionary forces in the area are planning to undermine the progressive movements in the whole Arabian peninsula, and are using all the resources which should be devoted to

the welfare of the people to eliminate the revolutionary forces in the Arabian peninsula. Our region was recently subjected to a blatant reactionary initiative directed against the armed revolution and the progressive regime in the People's Republic of South Yemen, as a result of the temporary victory by reactionary forces in North Yemen.

The two Fronts strongly condemn these reactionary moves, and call on all patriotic forces who have been misled by them to extricate themselves from the organised counter-revolution aimed at destroying the great achievements of the people's revolution, and at ending the nationalist movement so as to strengthen the stranglehold of imperialism on our area.

The two Fronts denounce the open interference by the Saudi autocracy in the affairs of the People's Republic of South Yemen. It is intended to detach some areas and to establish a satellite state in the region. The two Fronts call upon all progressive forces to undermine this reactionary plan, and to strike with an iron fist at everyone tempted to gamble with the interests of the people. The two Fronts support the progressive regime in South Yemen in its struggle against imperialist interference, in its progressive policies, and in its honourable and courageous stand towards our own armed revoluton.

The two Fronts, after reviewing the overall revolutionary situation in the Arab world, affirm their absolute support for the Palestine resistance and denounce all liquidationist plots undertaken by the client Jordanian regime, which is relying on Arab support in its massacre of the Palestinian resistance. It aims to realise a settlement with Israel, and to execute the imperialist project represented in the notorious Rogers plan. The two Fronts denounce the project of establishing a Palestinian state. The two assert the need for national unity between the active revolutionary detachments in Palestine, and they support all steps aimed at realising this basic demand.

The two Fronts state their absolute support for all national liberation movements aiming to eliminate imperialist control of their countries. They unequivocally declare their support for the Vietnamese people's revolution and for the people of Cambodia, Laos and Korea in their struggle against American imperialism and for the accomplishment of national sovereignty and national unity. They declare their support for the people of Eritrea and Somalia in their struggle against Ethiopian colonialism, and lay great stress on the pressing necessity of establishing close relations and co-operation between the national liberation movements and the socialist forces in the world, to strike more blows against imperialism and local reaction, and to accomplish more victories for

the suppressed poor nations and the movement for world peace and progress.

The People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf.

The National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.

2 December 1970

15. Joint Statement of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.

At the invitation of the Executive Committee of PFLOAG, an NLF delegation led by Comrade Vo Dang Gieng of the Central Committee of the NLF paid a friendly visit to the liberated areas of Dhofar province from 16 to 26 September 1972. The delegation was warmly welcomed by the masses, the People's Liberation Army and the PFLOAG leadership in the liberated area.

In the liberated area, discussions took place during which views on important common problems were exchanged. The NLF was represented by Vo Dang Gieng, Duc San Tam (member of the NLF Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee), and Nguyen Dinh Kha (member of the editorial committee of the NLF weekly *South Vietnam Struggle*). PFLOAG was represented by Amir Ali (Central Committee), Talal Saad, Ali al-Hay (members of the PFLOAG leadership, Dhofar region), and Hussein Musa (Information section of PFLOAG Aden Office).

Discussions took place in a friendly atmosphere filled with revolutionary solidarity. The NLF delegation congratulated PFLOAG on its successes in the struggle against Anglo-American imperialism to achieve national independence, democracy and social progress. The delegation considered the liberation of the countryside of Dhofar an especially important achievement towards the liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf from imperialism and reactionary occupation, and an important milestone on the road to independence and national unity.

The NLF delegation strongly condemned the alliance between US imperialism and the reactionary governments which serve it in Oman and the Arab Gulf; it further condemned Iran, Saudi Arabia and Jordan for maintaining those governments and assisting them in repression and exploitation of the people, resisting the revolutionary movements in

order to uphold existing divisions in Oman and the Arab Gulf, and thus handing the region over to American militarism and neo-imperialism.

The delegation also condemned the so-called regional alliance, which is in fact a US plot to get a number of reactionary governments together to further its interests, and to incite them to seize the land, massacre the people, and carry out its policy of stirring up internecine warfare. This is an integral part of the US strategy of aggression in this part of the world, together with the launching of provocative attacks against the People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen in an attempt to prevent its support for the national liberation movement and social progress in the Arabian peninsula.

The NLF delegation condemned British imperialism for its military interference in the affairs of Oman, for playing the leading role in the war of wholesale destruction against the Dhofar region, and for waging a campaign of repression and terrorism against the people of Oman.

The NLF delegation enthusiastically praised the efforts of PFLOAG in setting up a broad front comprising all progressive nationalist organisations and individuals in Oman and the Arab Gulf, so as to resist the alliance between the imperialists and their reactionary agents, and to achieve national independence, democracy and social progress, thus actively participating in the struggle which is common to the Arab nation and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to all the peoples of the world.

The NLF delegation is confident that all peoples and governments which love peace and justice, will provide ever increasing effective support to the just cause of the people of Oman and the Arab Gulf for true independence and national unity.

The PFLOAG delegation attached great significance to the staunch militant struggle waged by the heroic people of South Vietnam. It also expressed its admiration for the victories realised by the people and armed forces of South Vietnam, which have confounded one US aggressive war scheme after another. The delegation also praised the unprecedented achievements of the great offensives from April 1972 till the present, which threaten the Nixon strategy with total collapse. The PFLOAG delegation enthusiastically acknowledges the outstanding coordination of the people's struggle in the three countries Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos to defeat the Nixon doctrine in Indo-China and expressed its firm support for the just struggle of the people of those countries. The PFLOAG delegation strongly condemns the Nixon Government's barbaric policy of aggression and its very dangerous

7. Members of the People's Liberation Army celebrate a victory with a popular dance.
8. The Royal Air Force Base at Salala: a Strikemaster of the Sultan of Oman's Air Force on the runway.

policy of escalating the war. It also condemns the inhuman methods used in the war of annihilation, and especially the US's resumption of the war of destruction against the DRV by means of air and navel forces, together with the blockading of ports and the bombing of the dams and dykes in North Vietnam.

The PFLOAG delegation resolutely demands that US imperialism cease its war of aggression against Vietnam, puts an end to its Vietnamisation policy, unconditionally withdraws all US forces from South Vietnam and causes to support the client government of Thieu, leaving the Vietnamese people to resolve their internal problems themselves without external interference. The US must unconditionally end all air and artillery attacks and all acts of war against the DRV.

The delegation supports the 7 point peace plan proposed by the PRG and the two points set out in its statements of 2 February and 11 September 1972. This is the real, logical and reasonable solution and an honourable way for the US to withdraw from its war in South Vietnam, which has been excessively costly in lives and materials. The US government must respond to these proposals. The PFLOAG delegation strongly supports the Vietnamese people in their persistent struggles, until the US ceases its hostilities and respects the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people.

The delegates of PFLOAG and NLF resolutely support all national liberation struggles of the Arab nation and all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They also support the just struggle of the Palestinian and Arab people against the Israeli aggressors and their US masters, to regain their legal rights and their illegally occupied lands. The two parties strongly condemn the attacks of the Israeli aggressors against the Palestinian people, terrorist operations against Arabs and acts of aggression against Syria and Lebanon. The two parties demand an end to this reckless, aggressive policy. The two parties agree that the just struggles of the Arab people and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and colonialism for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress are scoring more and more victories and that their future is bright. The barbarous repression, terrorism and exploitation which the imperialists, colonialists and other puppets employ to retain their hegemony only prove their weakness, increase their isolation and make their ultimate downfall even more certain.

The just actions of the Vietnamese people and the people of Oman and the Arab Gulf will ultimately win victory. The two parties seek a development of mutual relations and agree to take steps to strengthen support and mutual co-operation in the struggle against the common

enemies, imperialism, colonialism and its agents led by American imperialism.

The visit of the NLF delegation marks a new high point in the development of relations between the people of Vietnam and the NLF on one side and the people of Oman and the Arab Gulf and PFLOAG on the other side.

Dhofar, 26 September 1972

16. Joint Statement by PFLOAG and the Arab Workers Party of Oman

In the second half of November 1972, official talks were held between a delegation representing the central Command of PFLOAG and a delegation from the central committee of the Arab Workers' Party (the AWP). The purpose of these was to strengthen pre-existing relations of friendship and joint struggle. The importance of this meeting arises from a shared understanding of the nature of the struggle being waged in Oman and the Arab Gulf between the revolution and its progressive forces, and the enemies of the people. This meeting reflects the desire of the comrades from the Front and the AWP to unify the progressive nationalist forces and accords with the wishes of the mass of our people to work towards the liberation and unity of our country, and to achieve the national democratic aims of the revolution, which will once and for all put an end to the crimes being committed against the rights of our people.

This meeting is a correct means of ensuring people's control over the front of the opposition forces and over its fighting wing. This will help to defeat the imperialists and reactionaries, and the feudalist tribal regimes of the Sheikhs and Sultans.

Oman and the Arab Gulf are at the moment suffering from imperialist oppression which has, in its present stage, reached a peak, and is using its resources to oppress the people, destroy our country, and thus keep it firmly under the direct control of Anglo-US imperialism and of its local reactionary allies. This will make it possible to pillage all its resources.

This rapacity reflects the deep involvement of US influence on top of the British colonial supremacy. It is manifested in the establishment of alliances with local reactionary regimes, both Arab and Iranian. These local reactionaries are used as front-line police to look after imperialist interests, chiefly oil, and to strike at the liberation movement in Oman and the Gulf, particularly in the southern province of Oman.

This alliance is reflected in the presence of a number of bases which are today found in Salalah, Masirah, Bait al Falaj (near Muscat—*ed.*) and Bahrain and in the establishment of new bases on Abu Musa island and Cape Massandam.

The network of this alliance is as follows:

1. Iran is playing the leading role in dominating the Gulf's waters and its straits, through the occupation of the three Omani islands (the Lesser and Greater Tumbs and Abu Musa). Iran also wants to control the Gulf of Oman and has begun this by the occupation of Umm al Ghanam Island (on the Omani side of the Hormuz Straits—*ed.*) and the domination of Cape Massandam. Iranian reaction, represented by the Shah's regime gives military and economic assistance to the regime in Muscat, thus actively participating in the attack on our people's revolution. It is trying to fight and destroy it.

2. Arab reaction led by Saudi Arabia and Jordan is also playing a shameful role in this imperialist and reactionary alliance, by supporting the reactionary regimes of the Sultanate of Oman and in the Union of Arab Amirates, as well as by providing a variety of repressive and intelligence equipment, and other military and economic aid. This form of assistance also constitutes active participation in the war between our people and the enemy. Arab and Iranian reaction have therefore joined hands to form a strong enemy force under the orders of their master, Anglo-US imperialism.

Local reaction, represented by the Sultans and Amirs, is a natural ally of imperialism and Arab-Iranian collusion is their way to dominate our land and oppress our people; this alliance also maintains the power base of these local reactionaries. The importance of this alliance is made clear by their co-ordinated aggression which is aimed at defeating and humiliating our people, and at smashing the armed revolution in southern Oman.

This alliance is not only involved in crushing the war of liberation in Oman; it also aims at wiping out the Yemeni revolution and at bringing down the progressive regime in the PDRY, which is the symbol of successful revolution in the Arab peninsula and forms a firm rear base for the revolution in Oman and the Arab Gulf.

The necessary revolutionary response to the conspiracies of imperialism and of its allies is to unite our forces and bring the people together within the ranks of a united front in order to increase the level of revolutionary struggle in all its forms, particularly that of armed struggle, and protracted people's war against the enemies of the people. Organised revo-

lutionary violence is the effective weapon with which to defeat all the plans of imperialism and reaction.

PFLOAG and the AWP's common understanding of the national democratic revolution and its basic enemies has laid the basis for this meeting which has opened a path for cooperation in the struggle.

The heroic daily struggle and revolutionary war waged by the PLA and the People's Militia under the leadership of the People's Front has achieved magnificent victories in the southern province of Oman. These are actions which the people of Oman and the whole peninsula are rightly proud of.

The strength of our people in the face of imperialism is a living proof of their steadfastness and determination to liberate and unify their country, and expel the British. A people who make such great sacrifices cannot be defeated, and victory will finally be theirs.

The development of relations between PFLOAG and the AWP, regular meetings and exchanges of views, have provided a friendly atmosphere and brought about a great step on the road to the creation of a people's front.

Differences of opinion concerning the scope of the revolution cannot stand in the way of reaching agreement and of establishing closer relations, starting from the necessity of reaching an organisational framework to translate these new relations into action against the common enemy. Agreement has been reached as follows:

1. To form a joint regional leadership.

2. To struggle within the framework of PFLOAG.

3. To form a joint central committee.

The results represent a significant step towards co-operation, as they are a real beginning of closer relations between the AWP and PFLOAG.

PFLOAG and the AWP of Oman call for increased revolutionary co-operation between all progressive national forces in Oman, the Arab Gulf and the peninsula against the enemies of the homeland, the people and the revolution. They also call for serious work to set up a United National Front, the key practical response to the alliance of imperialists and reactionaries.

PFLOAG and the AWP applaud the courageous revolutionary policy of

the PDRY—and its political organ, the NLF—towards the revolution in Oman and the Arab Gulf, and its constant and full support. The steadfastness of the PDRY against international imperialism and Saudi Arabian reaction is a victory for revolutionary forces in the Arab peninsula and throughout the world. The uprisings of poor peasants, workers and fishermen is the correct way to do away with feudalism and return the land to its rightful owners, and remove old forms of exploitation. The establishment of a united democratic Yemen will be a great victory for the Yemeni people in particular, and for all Arab peoples.

The two organisations assert their support for the Palestinian resistance in its determined opposition to containment, annihilation. and capitulationist solutions, and declare that the formation of a united National Front and protracted people's war are the weapons with which to achieve victory over the enemy—imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction.

PFLOAG and the AWP support the establishment of an Arab Progressive Front and consider it would be the most effective response to the conspiracies of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction.

We call on all Arab nationalist organisations to understand the struggle being waged in Oman and the Arab Gulf, and our people's revolutionary fight against imperialism, Arab and foreign reaction. We call on all these organisations to take a decisive stand and to support the armed struggle in southern Oman.

The revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people under the leadership of its progressive organisations against the Shah's reactionary regime is a concrete form of support to our people's struggle in Oman and the Arab Gulf. We give our firm support to the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people and we condemn the criminal behaviour of the Shah's regime.

PFLOAG and the AWP express support for the Eritrean people's fight against Ethiopian colonialism and call on Eritrean nationalist forces to strengthen their unity in struggle, in order to defeat the stratagems of imperialism and of Ethiopian reaction.

We warmly greet and express our support for the struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people against world imperialism led by the US and its allies. PFLOAG and the AWP stand firmly by the side of the Vietnamese revolution under the leadership of the Vietnamese NLF and of the PRG. We condemn the barbarous attacks made on the DRV. We also confirm support for the struggle of the peoples of Indochina.

PFLOAG and the AWP suport the liberation struggles of all oppressed

peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the struggles of progressive forces in capitalist countries.

PFLOAG and the AWP consider the socialist states to be the true allies of our people in the fight against imperialism and reaction and applaud their support for liberation movements throughout the world.

Down with colonialism!

Death and destruction to the imperialist, reactionary, alliance!

All Omani Islands to remain Omani forever!

May national unity in struggle become stronger!

Long live the victorious 9th June revolution!

Victory to the struggle of oppressed peoples!

The People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf, The Arab Workers' Party of Oman, 26 November 1972.

V. REPRESSION IN THE GULF

17. Arrests and Torture in Oman and the Arab Gulf

The only way Qabus, or his British and Jordanian masters, has been able to protect his crumbling throne from the mass movement and the rising hatred of the people, is by lashing out and arresting many people from all social groups and from all parts of the country. This client regime has found itself under seige from the masses because it has signed a military agreement with Iran, has surrendered the island of Umm al Ghanam, and has flooded our country with Iranian officers and soldiers. It has also assembled a group of Jordanian murderers and mercenaries who have come here to murder and humiliate our people, because our people have, with true patriotic feeling and love of freedom, realised the nature of the colonial and reactionary conditions under which they have been living. When the units of the People's Liberation Army and the people's militia launched their attacks against the government's mercenary army, the people in inner Oman gave expression to their anger against the regime.

Qabus has now shown his true colours to the people: they can now see that he is a British agent, and that his shaky government is only able to continue in existence with the support of British and Jordanian bayonets. This has always been true of the Al Bu Said Sultans; during the whole course of Omani history, they have remained in power only with the help of imperialist armies and by constant repression of the people.

The colonial regime is now carrying out large scale arrests, and in the face of this our people are demonstrating their willingness to incur sacrifices for the homeland, in order to rid it of the Al Bu Said family and to establish a people's government. Many people have been executed or detained; among them are men of religion, workers, sailors and women, people coming from the different classes of our nation and from every part of Oman. They have refuted the distorted propaganda of

the government, and are rallying increasingly around the revolution and the nation's vanguard.

In Northern Oman, the British and the client regime carried out numerous arrests when the people showed their resentment against the Iranian occupation, and against the anti-popular Union of Amirates, as well as against the treasonable exchange of extraordinary diplomatic relations between Muscat and Iran. In the other Amirates of the Gulf, similar arrests have occurred; they too form part of an imperialist campaign to break the national liberation movement in our country

These arrests are a response to the people's honourable resistance against Iranian occupation, and against the new and oppressive agreements which have been signed by the imperialist clients. The masses have demonstrated their hostility to the Iranian occupation and to the Jordanian intelligence personnel: they will make further sacrifices if necessary, since they cannot tolerate such an occupation, and are in complete opposition to the tribalist regimes behind which colonialism is hiding.

PFLOAG strongly condemns these indiscriminate arrests, and the tortures used by the British and Jordanian intelligence services. It pledges itself before the patriotic and brave people of our land to continue the struggle whatever the sacrifices and to advance the protracted people's war, whatever destruction and torture the enemy use. These will never hold back the popular movement, and will not prevent it from overthrowing the decayed Al Bu Said regime and the tribal families related to it: nor will they prevent the people from achieving sovereignty over their own affairs. Our heroic people will fight, mobilising all their capabilities and all national democratic classes to realise their objectives. It will never give way before the imperialists and the reactionaries.

PFLOAG considers that the correct revolutionary response to the policies of the Qabus regime is to intensify the struggle, and to launch more military and mass campaigns, and militant opposition, throughout our land, in order to beseige the decaying regime, and to wrest the legitimate rights of the people from the hands of the imperialists and reactionaries.

Free All Political Prisoners in the Prisons of the Decaying Tribal Regime!

Death and Dishonour to the Traitors and Executioners!

The People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf
5 February 1973

VI. MEMORANDA ON THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE GULF

18. The National Liberation Movement and Struggle of the People of Oman and the Arab Gulf

Paper Presented to the 11th Congress of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, Baghdad, March 1974.

The military and political occupation of our country by Britain has constituted a basic political provocation to the people of our country, and has been the fundamental aspect of the contradiction between ourselves and foreign intervention for many years. Our people have struggled to expel colonialism and imperialism, and to obtain the right to determine their own future.

The nationalist struggle is waged in many different forms although its main focus has been and is against British occupation and other forms of imperialism. This situation is influenced by a number of significant factors, the most important of which are:

1. British intervention in the internal and foreign affairs of each of the many Amirates, over a long period of history.
2. Political fragmentation of the region, due to imperialist manipulation of tribal structures.
3. A low level of production in the region, and a lack of social development, which has allowed tribalism to remain the basic social structure in the area. This has a considerable effect on the nationalist movement, its cohesion, the development of its leadership, and consequently its ability to oppose colonialism, until the advent of the 9 June revolution in 1965.
4. In Oman the British isolated the people, deprived them of education and prevented emigration.
5. Oil and its impact on political and social developments.

In the following exposé we will discuss these factors and their influence on the development of the struggle.

The Struggle against the British Occupation in Oman.

British strategy in the Arab Gulf was based on the need to control the coast and the strategic straits, in order to protect the route to India, the pearl of the British Empire. Our people's struggle against the British began in Ras al-Khaima in the period 1800-1820 and continued for many years. In this period there was a heroic armed struggle waged by the Arab tribes led by the Al-Qawasim against the British, who wanted to impose their control on the Straits of Hormuz, destroy Arab shipping and subject the Arab tribes to colonialism through Protection treaties.

Thanks to its modern weapons and to its superior numbers, Britain crushed Ras al-Khaima. It forced the tribes to accept a humiliating peace, embodied in treaties signed by local tribal leaders and the colonialists. These treaties became the chain which fettered the region and tied it to Britain.

In Muscat, Britain relied on the Al Bu Said family, imposing a number of one-sided treaties on them and at the same time protecting them from the people's anger. The struggle in Oman was essentially against the British and the Al Bu Said family. Oman was subjected to the British throne and severe restrictions were imposed on trade, shipping and artisanal production. This provoked a rapid economic decline. The damage was compounded by the British policy of reducing the people to a state of ignorance. As its interests in the area developed, it imposed more restrictions on Oman, to protect its own monopoly against the encroachments of other imperialist powers. Oman was the key to its policy in the Amirates and to its defence policy in the area.

The Al Bu Said family only survived popular hostility through British protection. As a result it was forced to surrender sovereignty through a series of agreements, one of which handed over the Kuria Muria Islands in 1854[1]. The Al Bu Said allowed Britain to build military bases on its territory and ceded control over internal Omani affairs when it asked Britain to set up economic and administrative structures in 1918. Thereafter Britain ruled the Sultanate outright[2]. The Omani people struggled in that period for freedom and the right to determine their own future, expel the British from Oman and unite the country under one flag; but the tribal structure of the country had a far-reaching effect on the course of events and on the national liberation movement, limiting its ability to obtain concessions and to expel the British.

In the period 1800-1920 the Omani people fought many wars against the British and the Al Bu Said family. The main ones were:

1. In 1820 the tribes in Ja'alan launched a widespread rebellion rejecting Al Bu Said authority and the British occupation. Britain sent a force of 150 British and Indian soldiers and troops. The tribes offered no resistance and the invading forces began to feel secure. A few days later the tribes counter-attacked and wiped out the force entirely. This attack had considerable repercussions in Bombay. The colonial administration decided to punish the "rebellious tribes, so it sent its ships to shell the town of Sur and its environs in 1822, leaving it in ruins and thereby imposing British control over the region"[3].

2. In 1833 the Omani tribes launched an attack on the Al Bu Said regime and thousands of armed patriots tried to liberate Muscat. Britain sent a cruiser to shell the population and to save the Al Bu Said throne. The coastal towns saw many similar events, when British forces protected Al Bu Said rule.

3. In 1877 the Omani tribes, led by the Imam, made a surprise attack, trying to liberate part of Muscat. Once again the throne was only saved from Omani patriots by British military intervention when a battleship shelled the town and caused many casualties among the civilian population.

4. Between 1913 and 1915 the British Government sent a unit of the Indian Army to take up positions in Muscat to prevent people invading it from the interior. The conflict lasted from 1913 to 1915 when the patriots were forced to withdraw; but they continued to threaten the British occupation of Muscat. This compelled the British Political Resident to negotiate with them and in 1920 they concluded the Treaty of Sib which divided Oman (excluding the northern coast, so-called Trucial Oman) into a Sultanate of Muscat and an Imamate of Oman.

5. The Omani tribes remained the nucleus of the patriotic struggle against the British. To put an end to this nationalist movement, Britain occupied Nizwa (capital of the Imamate—*ed.*) in 1955 and incorporated the Imamate into the Sultanate. This tyrannical occupation aroused the anger of all patriotic tribes in the interior; the Omani people resisted bravely and undertook considerable military activity between 1957 and 1960. The Imam's forces liberated Nizwa in 1957 for a month, but were unable to withstand the bombing and comprehensive destruction which the British imposed on peaceful villages. The struggle of the Omani patriots focused on two basic aims:
   a) To expel the British militarily and politically in order to establish a national government and determine their own future.

b) To bring down the puppet Al Bu Said regime which is linked to imperialism and threatens the traditions on which the Imamate system of government is based. (The Imam is elected by tribal and religious leaders).

Why the Revolts Failed

Despite the enormous sacrifices made by the Omani people they failed to defeat the enemy and its internal agents for a number of reasons:

1. There exists a high level of fragmentation between tribes and clans within the class and social structure of Oman. The Al Bu Said family exploits this weakness to the full, attempting to draw some tribes to its side and to smash other rebellious ones. Similarly, internecine fighting also weakens the tribes' capacity to withstand the enemy. The only time the Omani people have been able to win victories against invaders has been in periods of patriotic unity between *all* tribes, and especially between the al-Hinawi and the al-Ghafiri. That occurred only twice: the first time was when Iran occupied Oman (1732-1747). Then the Amir of the town of Suhar, Ahmad bin Salim, refused to surrender to the Iranian invasion. He was able to unite the Hinawi and the Ghafiri and to bring in all the other tribes and defeat the invaders.

   The second occasion was in 1913-1915 when, despite their differences, the tribal leaders reached an agreement. They anounced the deposition of the reigning Sultan Faisal bin Turki and called on the people to fight to liberate Muscat and unite Oman under one flag. They achieved great military successes, liberating most of the coastal towns. But when they attacked Muscat, British and Indian troops resisted them, shelling them heavily and leaving many injured. This forced them to retreat.

   National unity was a fundamental weapon in the hands of the people, and the people continually showed great courage in fighting to defeat invasions and to liberate the country.

2. The tribal leadership had a different social and class position from the peasants. In the Omani interior, the peasants who practise agriculture by primitive methods, according to tribal ownership, form the majority of the population. The political and spiritual leadership of the revolts was under the control of the tribal leaders and men of religion, who mixed nationalist hatred for the colonialists and their client regime with religious hatred. The peasants were unable to escape from this domination, nor was it possible, for objective reasons, for an alternative leadership to emerge from that social structure. It was proved conclusively that this leadership could not

defeat colonialism, even if it developed new policies and tactics. What was necessary was a new type of leadership brought forward by new social forces to resist not only the Al Bu Said family, but also the British forces and other imperialists.

Armed struggle has come to dominate all other forms of struggle in Oman since it has become obvious to every patriot that only force can decide the struggle and defeat invasion. The imperialists who have never hesitated to bomb villages and to destroy towns, and impose their puppets on the country, cannot be persuaded by peaceful means to withdraw and leave the country to its people. This can only be achieved by carrying arms. We thus observe that a long stretch of our history has been characterised by an armed struggle against imperialism and its clients.

The Liberation Movement in Bahrain

In other areas of the Gulf, and especially in Bahrain and Kuwait, the main characteristic of the struggle was that it limited the influence of the British in internal affairs and reduced the power of the client Sheikhs. In Bahrain the most important of these movements were:

1. The anti-British movement which emerged in 1919 when the leaders of the nationalist movement demanded that British intervention be limited, and a Major Daley be expelled. This movement grew until its climax in 1921. Then a conference was convened and it sent a number of resolutions to the British Political Resident in the Gulf, namely:
   (a) That Sheikh Isa should remain ruler of Bahrain without interference from the British Political Agent. Were Sheikh Isa to appoint his son as a deputy, there would be no objection.
   (b) To handle cases according to Islamic, Shari'a, law.
   (c) A parliament should be elected to work for the interests of the people as is done in advanced countries.
   (d) That a four-man commission of experts on pearl fishing be set up to investigate matters related to that industry.
   (e) That Britain should be banned from interfering in Bahrain's internal affairs.[4]

   Sheikh Isa responded to the demands of these officials by setting up a legislative assembly. This aroused British resentment: they deposed Sheikh Isa and replaced him with his son Hamad. Moreover, faced with these demands, the British arrested the leaders of the movement, Ahmad bin Khalifa bin Lahej and Abdul Wahhab al Ziyyani, exiling the former to Bombay. The latter was sent to Aden, because he had previously been in India and had become involved in anti-British activity there.

2. The Bahraini pearl divers rose in May 1932, when they attacked police headquarters in Manama. The British authorities suppressed them violently.[5]

3. Britain built the naval base at Al-Jufair in Bahrain in 1935, and a nationalist rebellion against the base followed in 1938. It also called for constitutional reforms. The people demanded the creation of a legislative council and national councils of justice and information, as well as the right to form trade unions. They also expressed their disgust at the Bahrain Petroleum Company's disregard for nationals and preference for foreign workers to whom it offered better work opportunities. The British authorities seized the leaders of the movement and exiled them. Some of them fled to Basra (in Iraq—*ed.*) where together with Kuwaiti refugees they formed what was known as the *Union of Gulf Arabs*[6].

4. In 1954-56 the Bahraini masses, under the leadership of the Supreme Executive Committee, later known as the Union of National Organisation, began the struggle to achieve constitutional reform; it demanded the expulsion of the British "adviser", Belgrave, who had dominated Bahrain since 1926. They also demanded the right to form trade unions. But the imperialists landed British troops and imposed a State of Emergency which is still in force today despite the pretence by the regime that it was lifted following demands by the National Assembly. Hundreds of arrests were made, the leaders were exiled and many people were forced to leave.

5. Between 1956 and 1965 the Bahraini nationalist movement did not disappear; it continued its struggles and its demands. In 1965, when BAPCO made 400 workers redundant, the workers and other popular sectors of the population launched the historic insurrection of 1965, calling for national and democratic rights. This lasted for months until the regime brutally repressed it. There were many martyrs, and hundreds of political prisoners and exiles.

6. Since 1968 the working class movement has led most of the struggles against the repressive regime for national and democratic rights. A constituent committee of Bahraini workers and employees was formed to lead the workers struggles and it led the uprising of March 1972.

Kuwait and Qatar

The national democratic struggle in Kuwait and Qatar has grown from the same demands as those of our people: i.e. *against* British occupation and *for* constitutional reforms.

In Kuwait the first advisory council was set up in the time of Sheikh Ahmad al-Jabir. It included a number of leading figures who were either chosen or appointed; the chairmanship was given to a leading trader Hamad bin Abdullah al Saqar. But the council did not last long as the appointees had no ability to respond to the demands of the masses or to cope with the problems facing the country[7].

At the beginning of the 1930s Kuwaitis demanded the establishment of a council for information and other functions, but although the Sheikh accepted this demand, his continued interference forced it to close.

In April 1938, some Kuwaiti young people presented a petition to Sheikh Ahmad Jabir. This contained six demands for reform: the training of Kuwaitis to do skilled work, reforms in the fields of finance and the economy, the opening of a free hospital, the expulsion of British advisers, and an end to restrictions on Arabs residing in and visiting Kuwait. In July 1938 nationalists presented a petition demanding a legislative assembly elected by the people from among the people. The ruler gave in to these demands, but the British Political Resident expressed concern over this council. As a result, he intervened on a number of occasions to impose Britain's wishes. This angered every nationalist in Kuwait but the British forced the regime to dissolve the council[9].

A democratic movement also took place in Qatar in 1963 when the masses demanded an end to the power of the Sheikhs, permission to form trade unions, and an end to the influence of foreign advisors. A United National Front was formed. The British repressed the movement, expelling some of its leaders and putting others in prison.

Working Class Leadership

The nationalist movement in Oman and the Arab Gulf has renewed its struggle and deepened its political consciousness as a result of economic and class developments, and of a sharpening of the struggle between the newly-created class forces and pre-existing and backward socio-economic relations. The growth of a working class in the Arab Gulf has produced a radical change in the course of the nationalist movement. Most of this class comes from oppressed social groups—from peasants, pearl divers, fishermen, artisans, people who, for many years, have suffered class and national oppression, and who have been helped to understand the oppression and exploitation they have suffered from the colonialists.

In the 1960s the working class began to exercise increasing influence on the whole nationalist movement; now, workers' demands were related to the nationalist demands. The working class also provided the leader-

ship for numerous uprisings in Bahrain after 1965 and it has participated more in the national democratic struggle in Kuwait. In Oman workers' associations have also exercised an increasing influence since 1968.

Since 1965 the people of Dhofar have taken up armed struggle against imperialism and reaction. Through its practice, through the presence of an increasing number of educated revolutionaries, and through a greater association with the working class, it has had a great effect on the course of the revolution and has benefitted from the experiences of the national democratic movement. At the Hamrin congress in 1968, the revolution carried out a complete self-criticism, profiting from the struggle of our people throughout the region, and from the political and ideological changes which had taken place in the Arab world. It also profited from the great heritage of national liberation movements the world over and from the progressive socialist parties in the world. Since 1968 the national revolution has expanded and has developed branches in the region of the Arab Gulf. The unity of all nationalist forces has become increasingly important in order to oppose imperialism and its agents, and to defend the national democratic rights of our people.

These revolutionary uprisings by the liberation movement in the Gulf have forced the imperialists to change tactics, to set up artificial entities to withstand the nationalist attack, to absorb popular hatred and to maintain the safety and security of imperialist interest in the area.

In Dhofar the imperialists responded to the growth of nationalism and to the continued armed struggle by throwing in more puppet forces against our people; they sent in Jordanian, Pakistani and European mercenaries. Later the green light was given to the lackey in Teheran to intervene ruthlessly in Oman; Iran then sent its army to Oman to gain control of strategic regions, particularly the Straits of Hormuz and adjacent strategic islands, and to crush the national revolutionary movement in Oman.

Current Revolutionary Strategy

The nationalist forces are fighting in every sector against the imperialist-reactionary alliance to achieve the following aims:

1. To defeat the Iranian invasion, which threatens not only Oman but also the whole of the Arab Gulf and also threatens peace in the Indian Ocean and South West Asia.

2. To remove the foreign military presence, represented by American, British and Iranian bases and troops (in Bahrain, Masirah, Salalah, Ra's al Hadd, Thamrit), as well as to remove US and British fleets from the Gulf waters.

3. To drive out the reactionary regime in Muscat, which has sold our national interests and has introduced many more foreign powers into Oman, making it into a joint colony of all imperialist powers. This regime has also invited the Iranian invasion against the Omani population, who are fighting to set up a national democratic government based on the support of the people.

4. To reassert national control over oil, agriculture and trade which are monopolised by US, British and West German companies; and to exploit oil resources for the development of the area which is now suffering from severe underdevelopment.

5. To struggle for the basic rights of freedom and democracy: a repressive regime still rules, and it ignores the will of the people. It gives the people no say in political decisions, and prevents it from organising and establishing independent associations to defend its rights against monopoly companies.

6. To fight to change the Arab Gulf into a sea of peace, where relations between the various states are based on mutual respect and non-intervention in each others' national affairs, and where a policy of supremacy and expansion such as that of the present Iranian regime will be impossible.

The Arab Gulf is an important and vital channel, and it is not in the interests of the people of the area, or mankind or of world peace that a state like Iran should be allowed to assert the right to control it unilaterally and to intervene, under the pretext of preserving peace and security and maintaining the status quo, i.e. the domination of the monopoly companies, and the repression of the nationalist movement, described by Iran as "saboteurs". The nationalist forces call for the protection of this vital route, so that it will be free for use by world shipping without distinction.

7. The nationalist forces are struggling to bring Oman and the Arab Gulf under a national democratic government, to make it peaceful and secure, so that the human, and economic potential of the area can be used to develop it economically and improve the welfare of the people.

8. The nationalist forces in Oman and the Arab Gulf, together with the nationalist forces in the Arab Peninsula and Iran are struggling against the dangerous policy of arms stockpiling which is encouraged by US imperialism in order to create a "local police force", i.e. Iran. Iran has asserted itself as the repressor of the nationalist movement not just at home but also abroad. The scope of this repressive

machinery is growing as its strength grows until it encompasses the Shah's dream empire, stretching from the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea.

9. The nationalist forces, together with all peace-loving forces, will struggle to turn the Indian Ocean into an area free of military bases (US, British and Iranian fleets) and free of military activity by foreign fleets or air forces.

The People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf, March 1974.

FOOTNOTES

1. *The Struggle for the Gulf* by Salim Taha al-Takriti, p. 122 (in Arabic).
2. *Oman—its Path and Destiny* by Robert Juan, p. 320.
3. *The Oman War: a Critical History*, 9th June Studies.
4. *The Arab Gulf—a Study of the History of the Amirates, 1914-1945*, by Dr. Jamal Zakniyya, p. 221 (in Arabic).
5. Ibid. p. 223.
6. Ibid. p. 224.
7. Ibid. p. 165.
8. Ibid. p. 128-9.
9. Ibid. p. 172.

19. The Arms Build-Up, Military Bases and Foreign Intervention in the Arab Gulf

Paper Presented to the 11th Congress of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, Bagdad, March 1974

The announcement on 19 January 1968 of Britain's intention to withdraw from the Arab Gulf has opened a new phase of imperialist intervention in this region, one of British retreat in the face of US expansion, or—to put it another way—of Britain's need to co-operate now with the US in protecting the interests of imperialism, in contrast to the previous situation in which it alone had been the dominant power in the Gulf. A number of changes in the political situation have occurred which reflect this new Anglo-US co-operation in maintaining imperialist supremacy and in increasing exploitation. These have included the following:

1. Modernisation of the Reactionary Regimes

The imperialists have encouraged and in some cases forced subservient local rulers to reform their systems of government. The absolute power of the tribal chiefs has had to be modified, and some limited rights

have been given to the people, in order to lessen their hostility and opposition to the regimes. Fake "National Assemblies" are just one of the many tricks being used to contain the growing people's movement within a limited parliamentary structure.

2. Arming Reactionary Regimes

Anglo-US strategy clearly requires that these regimes should be provided with the instruments of repression needed to protect imperialist interests, and thereby to fulfil the role formerly performed by British troops. Vast piles of armaments have therefore poured into these states. Kuwait has recently signed a £500 millions deal with Britain; Saudi Arabia has a number of contracts (with the USA, France and Britain—*ed.*) worth more than one billion dollars. Iran now spends more than 26% of its budget on military expenditure—and its most recent arms deal with the USA was worth more than $3 billions.

3. Establishing and Arming Military Alliances

After the announcement of the British withdrawal, US Presidential Adviser Eugene Rostow said 20 January 1968: "As to the Persian Gulf area, some very strong and quite active and stable states are interested in assuming responsibility for regional security . . . Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait would certainly be a nucleus around which security arrangements could hopefully be built". The *Daily Telegraph* of 14 January 1968 suggested that the best way to ensure a free flow of oil after a British withdrawal would be to establish a new defence organisation based on three components—Iran, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. This meant that the British withdrawal would be accompanied by the establishment of a local defence alliance and this would replace imperialist troops. It is in this context that we may understand the US assertion that CENTO forms the eastern wing of NATO.

4. Maintaining a Hold on the Reins of Power

St. John Philby, one of the most prominent former representatives of British colonialism in the Arab Gulf, once said: "I do not see why peace should not be maintained in the region, if we leave the Arabs to handle their own affairs, while we concentrate on advisory services" This is an accurate summary of what has recently happened in the Gulf. When Britain announced its decision to withdraw, it had representatives seated on Bahrain's Defence Council, and on the Planning Council of the Sultanate of Oman. US and British officials also hold senior posts in the intelligence services and in the armed forces of these states. A man like the chief of the US Military Mission in Dhahran,

9. A British officer briefs his men: over 1,000 British personnel of various kinds are serving in the Sultanate. The total size of the Sultan's Army is about 14,000.

Saudi Arabia, is an absolute ruler who always has the last word in the Dhahran region.

5. Arranging Treaties between Britain and the Local Regimes

After announcing its withdrawal, Britain signed new treaties with the Sheikhs and Amirs of the Gulf, which confirm British influence even if in a concealed or reduced way. The British proposal—later accepted by the Sheikhs—contained the following suggestions:

(a) Britain is prepared to sign Treaties of Friendship, and, if necessary, to sustain such Treaties with periodic consultation.
(b) Britain is prepared to loan officers and other officials to the Amirates' forces, and to assist with equipment. The Union will bear sole financial responsibility for its own forces.
(c) If required, Britain can provide British military personnel, for training, liaison, establishing camps and so on.
(d) Britain will organise training manoeuvres in which units of the British Army and the RAF will participate.
(e) Ships of the Royal Navy will visit the area regularly.

The conditions of this agreement not only confirm British supremacy, but also amount to placing the United Arab Amirates under the direct control of British colonialism.

6. British and US Military Bases

The *New York Times* recently carried a statement from a US State Department spokesman which said that "The US Navy will be obliged to take on certain duties to maintain international security, i.e. those duties formerly carried out by the British". The US has therefore begun to increase its presence and its bases. It has taken over the naval base at Bahrain previously held by the British, and it now shares base facilities with Iran on the island of Abu Musa. Britain, for her part, has kept her bases on Masirah and at Salalah, in which its forces are concentrated. The Masirah base is closed to all except British Army personnel.

7. Foreign Capital Investment and the Destruction of Our National Economy

In *Colonial Policy after the Second World War* Fakhr Washif states: "The import of capital, which characterises every phase of imperialism, has to-day acquired particular significance. This capital is not imported for profit alone, but for other reasons as well, and especially to create circumstances in which the monopoly companies can exploit developing countries and keep them firmly under the influence of the world capitalist economy". US investment in the Gulf has now reached $5 billions.

British investment $2 billions: through the influx of this foreign capital, the nation's economy has been destroyed and the region has been transformed into a market for the consumption of imperialist products. The national economy has been restricted to money-changing and to services.

The local regimes have therefore been strengthened to guarantee imperialist exploitation, especially of oil. Imperialism's continuing supremacy has been confirmed by answers given in the London Parliament in January 1974 by the British Minister of Defence, Mr. Ian Gilmour, in reply to questions from Mr. William Wilson MP. Mr. Wilson asked if facilities had been provided for the Iranian forces in British bases, and also how many British officers were working in the service of Sultan Qabus. The Minister said that the British bases provided no facilities for Iranian forces, and that the number of seconded officers was 123. Britain has taken on the role of adviser, providing a number of officers, while Iran, in accordance with the changes in Anglo-US policy, has become the main executor of imperialist policy. The Shah has said: "Our responsibility is not only local; we also have a role to play as protector of 60% of the world's oil reserves". He went on: "Western interests in the Gulf are strategic ones, involving the security of the West, America and Japan. These states cannot, however, defend their interests. So we must do the job for them". But: protect the oil reserves *from whom*? The Shah himself spoke of the possibility of some regimes on the other side of the Gulf being toppled by extremists and liberation movements such as the Oman rebellion. Should the struggle succeed, imagine, said the Shah, what would confront us in Muscat, which lies opposite the Straits of Hormuz.

The imperialists and reactionaries are losing sleep over these liberation movements, and that is why Iran has been given the task of supporting the weak Qabusite regime. This support began in 1972: in July of that year, a delegation led by Thuwaini bin Shihab, an adviser of Qabus', went to Teheran where it was warmly received in the Shah's palace. Thuwaini showed great deference to this Iranian master, and during the visit the rulers of Oman effectively abandoned their national responsibilities and signed an agreement giving Iran sovereignty over some Omani territory: this agreement formed the basis of the Iranian invasion of Oman.

Under this agreement, Iran seized the Omani island of Umm al Ghanam, and its air force and navy began to patrol the area around Cape Massandam, on the Omani side of the Straits of Hormuz. This was done without any public announcement, until PFLOAG discovered that Iran had occupied the island and that it in fact controlled the territorial waters around Cape Massandam. Although a number of Arab journa-

lists asked to be allowed to visit the area, the Muscat regime refused outright: it denied that Iran controlled any Omani territory, and also denied that there had been any influx of Iranian arms and technicians. But these repeated denials have now worn thin, and Qabus himself confessed in an interview with the Beirut daily *an Nahar* (22 March 1973): "We received aid and various military services from Iran. This aid is supervised by Iranian officers and there are also some Iranian helicopters". This confession was, to say the least, belated, and he only made it because of the Muscat regime's embarrassment over remarks made by some Arab diplomats and journalists about the Iranian presence, following their visits to Salalah.

Iran began to send arms, military advisers and intelligence experts to Oman in accordance with a secret agreement signed by Thuwaini bin Shihab during his visit to Teheran in 1972. SAVAK (the Iranian intelligence service) has played a major role in organising and implementing repression and campaigns of terror against our people. It has fulfilled the same function in the United Arab Amirates, and has also been spying on Iranian patriots: they have been arresting them and deporting them back to Iran. Iran later sent 20 Augusta Bell helicopters crewed by Iranians, and then flew troops into the enemy base of Salalah. Some of these troops were transferred to Hallaniya Island off the Dhofar coast, after its population had been evacuated and military installations had been built there. The remainder were distributed to positions in the Eastern and Mamarr regions of Dhofar. The special Iranian forces and helicopter units were under an Iranian commander, based in Salalah, and not under the command of the British-officered mercenary army. Ultimate authority for Iranian operations in Oman lies with Teheran.

Later in 1973, Iran prepared a new military campaign by announcing that large-scale CENTO manoeuvres would be held between 20 November and 2 December 1973, involving naval and air forces from Britain, the USA, Iran and Turkey. The manoeuvres took place in the Sea of Oman and other Gulf waters, and involved parachute drops and sea landings. The purpose was to select those Iranian forces to use to invade Oman, and to select allied forces who could be used when circumstances dictated.

Using the manoeuvres as a cover, Iranian forces were shipped from the military complex at Chah Bahar in Iranian Baluchistan to Dhofar: in a press conference in Beirut in December 1973, the Minister of Information of Democratic Yemen warned that these troops were moving towards the borders of his own country. The Iranian navy moved on the Shah's orders to promote his interests, which are directly opposed to those of the Omani people and to their sovereignty. The Shah has

taken upon himself the task of crushing the popular revolution in Oman, on the pretext that it threatens the passage of oil tankers through the Straits of Hormuz.

PFLOAG has never made any statement, nor done anything, to indicate that it would disrupt oil supplies. It is fighting to regain control of the wealth of the people which is being solen by monopoly companies. The Front has no intention of depriving the states of the world of oil supplied on a fair and equitable basis. Iran has declared itself to be the protector of imperialist monopoly interests, and it describes popular radical movements in the Arab peninsula as a dangerous threat. The Shah has invested himself with the right to intervene and suppress these movements: *this* is the essential danger present in Iranian policy.

The *Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation,* the largest such people's organisation, is faced with a clear historical duty: to declare its unanimous opposition to the Iranian invasion and the "fait accompli" policy imposed by forces of arms. The AAPSO should declare itself willing to do everything possible to support the heroic struggle of our people.

The People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.

March 1974.

VII. THE PEOPLE'S FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF OMAN

20. Political Communique Issued by the Second General National Congress of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf

A General Congress convened by PFLOAG has discussed the political situation and recent developments in Oman and the Arab Gulf, the intense imperialist struggle for control of the area, and the great national danger posed by the Iranian occupation to our people and to the national identity of our homeland, both now and in the future.

The Congress discussed in detail how the nationalist activity of the previous period had progressed: it evaluated the progress made in uniting all patriotic forces in the face of imperialist and reactionary policies. At the same time it discussed the changed relations between the different sectors of national activity which the present critical stage of our people's history demands.

The Congress discussed at length the political changes which have occurred. The announcement of the British withdrawal in 1968 was the beginning of a major change in imperialist policy, designed to suppress the growing nationalist movement and to strengthen imperialism's hold over our homeland, and our people, by adopting a different approach. The announcement of the British withdrawal showed that the pre-existing forms of colonialism were now outmoded in the context of the vast economic and social changes which are transforming our society and its class structure to-day. This transformation has been accompanied by the spread of revolutionary ideas, by an increased hostility to British imperialism and its clients, the tribal families, and by the emergence of the great 9 June Revolution which has insisted on the liquidation of British imperialism and its agents, and the establishment of a national democratic regime in this area.

The announcement of the British withdrawal was inseparable from an

increasing desire on the part of the USA to gain control of the oil resources and revenues, as well as the strategic position of our homeland. It was also closely related to changes in US strategy towards the growing world revolutionary movement. This strategy was designed to offset the defeats which US imperialism had suffered in several parts of the world.

The key to the new imperialist policy is the creation of counter-revolutionary forces at the regional level. In the Gulf, these forces are now playing the repressive role previously played by British imperialism. These regional repressive forces are used whenever the repressive forces of the smaller states, which are being rapidly put together by imperialism, fail to succeed against a revolutionary movement, or whenever imperialist interests are threatened.

The social basis of this new imperialist policy involves the consolidation of small-scale land ownership and the modernisation of the tribalist regimes. This is being done by introducing changes in industry and in economic management, by granting these regimes bogus independence, and by presenting them as independent sovereign states both in the Arab world and internationally. It is well known that these statelets are subordinate to the two regional pillars of US imperialism—Iran and Saudi Arabia—who protect the latter's oil and strategic interests. Many of the most important policy decisions concerning the smaller states are taken in Teheran and Riyadh.

The imperialists are opposed to the unification of our people. They have been debating how to undermine it, and how to paralyse our people's capabilities. This they are doing by distributing our people amongst the small states which remain under the control of imperialism, and are unable to resist the expansionism of the Iranian throne. This is how the feudalists, traitors and foreign monopolies can keep their vice-like grip on the destiny of our people.

The imperialists have been paying greater attention to the Sultanate of Oman. The only way they have been able to halt the revolution has been to conceal their presence there and their real control via the British-run coup which brought Qabus to power (in July 1970, see Document 11—*ed.*) and which established him as the figurehead beneath whom Oman would be incorporated within the more general imperialist policy for the Gulf.

After this, imperialist policy concentrated on a programme of "pacification", designed to defuse the revolutionary situation prevailing in Oman, to absorb popular discontent, to isolate the revolution from the masses, and to conceal the imperialist presence by installing client

Arabs as figureheads. Construction companies poured into Oman: the latter opened its doors to the robbers of oil and other swindlers and to other capitalist monopolies. They found a golden opportunity to accumulate wealth by looting our people. This was all done to the accompaniment of a loud propaganda campaign, unparalleled in Oman's history. It tried to portray the regime as patriotic and called upon the people to take advantage of the crumbs proferred to them by the monopolies and their beneficiaries.

While the imperialists and their servants in Muscat are talking of reform and are promising the masses increased benefits, their repressive apparatus has become fiercer and more extensive. Oman has opened its doors to an increasing number of executioners from the Jordanian regime, to more and more British officers and "advisers", and has allowed an increased buildup in the British and US bases on Masirah Island, and at Salala. Hundreds of mercenaries of many nationalities have been brought to Oman to create a local repressive force capable of hitting at any popular movement, and of withstanding the revolution being waged in Dhofar.

However, the pacification programmes and other bogus activities cannot hide the nature of the British presence and the nature of relations between the Al Bu Said regime and Britain. All the propaganda about "fighting communism", "preserving the Islamic religion" and similar deceptions have not helped the client regime. These slogans have failed to deceive the majority of workers, peasants, shepherds and other sections of the population: the masses have had experience of the Al Bu Said family, and they are well aware of the British treatment of the nationalist movement. Many of the programmes and plans which were aimed at strengthening the client regime, demonstrating its patriotism and distorting the armed revolution and its objectives, have failed completely. The masses have seen that Qabus and his clique are clients of US and British imperialism, and are traitors to the people and to their homeland.

In Oman the imperialists have employed every ideological and political weapon used in Vietnam, in an attempt to divide the masses from the revolution and to tie the people and their political and social energies to the client regime by means of bribery, phoney councils, tribal gatherings and the propagandist use of religion. They have made use of the experience gained by Jordan and the Amirates: all the reactionaries have united to strengthen Qabus and his clique and to protect them from the anger of the Omani people.

The British and their servants in Muscat have escalated the war of annihilation against the military population of the southern region. They

have conducted a continuous series of military campaigns, each of which has been a greater failure than the previous one. This is because of the determination and endurance of our people, of the People's Liberation Army and of the people's militia.

Since the regime and its masters have failed, and our people in the south have remained as firm as ever, the Americans have decided, after the October 1973 war, to give the green light to the Shah of Iran to intervene militarily against the revolution. The aim was to achieve a swift military victory, and for the client regime to extend its control over the liberated areas. The Shah of Iran was presented with a golden opportunity to extend his empire, and to incorporate more of Oman into his kingdom.

This was how Britain invited Iranian collaboration in occupying Omani soil, just as it had previously offered the three Omani islands to Iran (see Document 8—*ed.*) and had remained silent when Iran seized the other islands in the Gulf. This most recent crime is a practical demonstration of the strong ties linking the imperialists and the reactionaries in Muscat and Teheran. The Iranian army therefore sent 11,000 soldiers to invade Oman: the majority of this invading force was based in the towns of the southern region and on the Red Line which runs through the liberated area.

The Congress discussed the Iranian military aggression and its timing at length. The close ties between this military attack, designed to liquidate the armed revolution in Oman, and the US offensive after the October War, were evident. The Arab armies and the Palestinian resistance have scored political and military victories which have made US imperialism realise the extent of the losses it has suffered. A quick intervention was therefore necessary to restore their position, and to eradicate all the positive results of the October war.

US imperialism has worked out its new plan to liquidate all revolutionary forces, to bring down all progressive and nationalist regimes, to force the Arab national liberation movement to submit and to undo all the political and economic achievements which the Arab masses have realised over the past 20 years. The US has exerted itself and has enlisted its Zionist and other reactionary allies in support: in this general plan, the Iranian monarchy has been allotted a special role.

Iran has declared that it is quite ready to implement the plans through military aggression, and continued sabotage of the government in Iraq, and has sent its army to occupy the Omani islands. In addition, Iran has supported a number of Arab regimes and has encouraged their capitulationist tendencies, their policy of throwing themselves into the

arms of US imperialism. Iran has done this through loans and other kinds of pernicious assistance, with the intention of sabotaging any firm Arab stand against its expansionist policy and against US policy in the Arab world. The Iranian army has not, however, scored a remarkable victory; moreover, it has aroused the nationalist feeling of all patriotic and national forces, and of all peace-and freedom-loving forces. Consequently, US imperialism is now planning to involve more Arab reactionary regimes in the war of aggression against our people. Bogus cries have begun to be heard from some parts of the Arab world, justifying the invitation of Qabus to the Iranian invaders and to the British occupiers. These Arab forces have presented themselves as alternatives to the foreign armies, in the suppression of our people and in the crushing of our nationalist movement.

We denounce those Arab regimes which stand by the side of Qabus and of the Iranian invasion. We denounce every Arab regime which gives military assistance under any kind of pretext to Qabus. We consider this to be the height of treason and to be acting as an accomplice of the Iranian and the British invaders. We call on all patriotic and progressive forces and on the Arab masses to expose these treacherous policies, and to stand unequivocally by the side of our people and of their just revolution. We consider it is the duty of all Arab countries which call for the preservation of the Arab character of Oman and of the Arab Gulf, to stand by the side of the Omani revolution, to condemn the Iranian invasion and Qabus' treason, and to provide our people with all possible help in their just struggle.

The Iranian invasion has taken the enemy campaign beyond the stage of mere "pacification", and has created instead a new and extremely dangerous situation. It has clearly shown our people, the Arab nation and the whole world, how the Shah of Iran desires to control our nation, and his corrupt participation in the US plan. It has shown our people and the Arab nation the great threat to peace now being posed by the massive Iranian arms build-up.

Qabus and his British masters have endangered the fate of the whole Arab Gulf by allowing the Shah's US-equipped forces to cross the Straits of Hormuz, to occupy Omani territories and openly to admit its submission to the Iranian throne. It is now essential that the patriotic forces should confront this situation: they must revise all their previous programmes and tactics in order to propose the programme and tactics needed to unify all patriotic farces, groups and elements in a united defence of Omani soil and in the face of the dangers posed by Iranian expansion and imperialist plotting in the Gulf.

The leadership and the rank and file of the *People's Front for the*

Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf in all regions have faced up to this dangerous situation, to the recent political developments in the Arab Gulf and to the different tasks and programmes required for the struggle in each sector. They have understood that the present situation requires the mobilisation of all patriotic and national potential, and the reduction of secondary contradictions, in order to confront and defeat the Iranian invaders and to bring down the client regime in the so-called Sultanate of Oman.

The Congress resolved on the following measures, after reviewing the pre-existing situation and after comprehensive discussions involving both the leadership and the rank and file:

1. Organisational independence for the PFLOAG sections in the different political entities of the area, and the right to form specific policies and programmes as required by regional political conditions.
2. Organisation of the PFLOAG branches now in the regions of Oman within the framework of an independent national organisation, under the name *People's Front for the Liberation of Oman.*
3. Establishment of a National Programme and a Constitution of the *People's Front for the Liberation of Oman.*
4. Election of a Central Command for the *People's Front for the Liberation of Oman.*

Organisational independence has been dictated by the nature of the present situation, in order to mobilise all Omani and Arab efforts to confront the Iranian invasion and the British presence; to accelerate the hour of national salvation for this valuable part of our nation; to be able to advance policies and programmes in the other regions which correspond to the development of conditions there; and to be able, in general, to serve the strategic aims of our people in the whole area and to stand in the face of the enemy.

Although this policy is necessary at this stage, we re-iterate at the same time our absolute conviction in the unity of the different areas. The necessity of unifying all its nationalist forces is a strategic matter dictated not only by the confrontation with the enemy—local reaction, imperialism and Iranian expansion—but also by the rapid social and economic development. This is impelling the area towards political unity, despite the obstructions put up by the rulers of the Amirates, who want to consolidate these divisions, and despite the obstacles erected by the imperialists who want to hold on to their interests. The national forces in Oman and the Arab Gulf are therefore called upon to take the historical trajectory of development into consideration and to adopt the highest forms of support and unity amongst themselves in order to create organisational structures capable of consolidating their abilities. This they must do in order to confront the dangers surrounding them and to

conserve the gains won during the long struggle against imperialism and reaction.

At this crucial moment, the Congress pays its respects to the great heroism of the people of Oman and the Arab Gulf in its confrontation with the imperialists and traitors. It salutes the heroic endurance of our people in the southern region of Oman, in the face of the British and Iranian raids, the continuous military expeditions, the economic blockade, the psychological warfare and the base inducements made by the Qabus regime to bribe our people and to divert it from the revolution. The Congress hails the great victories of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and hails its heroic and principled stand in support of our revolution and in the face of imperialism and Iranian expansionism. It declares its deepest appreciation for the great achievements of the Yemeni people, of the workers, peasants and fishermen, carried out through popular uprisings and people's institutions, and in defence of the revolution. It expresses its complete support for the Yemeni revolution and its heroic people in their unified struggle to preserve this Republic, which is a thorn in the side of imperialism and reaction, a stronghold of the Arab revolution, and in their common struggle to defeat the dreams of imperialism and of Iranian expansionism.

The Congress also salutes all nationalist and democratic forces in North Yemen and in Saudi Arabia, and reiterates its conviction of the need to unite the forces of revolution in the Arabian Peninsula, in order to combat this US assault on the oil-rich peninsula, an attack which utilises the reactionary Saudis and traitors to implement its policies of subjugation and to protect its interests and its vicious looting of the nation's wealth from our deprived people.

It salutes the fraternal Arab nationalist states, which support our people's just struggle and its revolutionary battle against the British occupation and the Iranian invasion. It calls upon them to increase their support and assistance to the revolution and to stand with the greatest firmness against Qabus' regime.

The Congress salutes all national and democratic organisations and personalities inside and outside the Arab world, who have denounced the Iranian invasion and the continued British occupation, and who have stood beside the struggle of our people and of its armed revolution.

The Congress salutes the position taken by the friendly socialist states towards our just struggle against imperialism and Iranian expansionism. It values the assistance presented to our people and to its armed revolution, aimed at strengthening its capabilities in the face of the enemies of freedom and peace.

It also salutes the heroic struggle waged by the Palestinian people under the leadership of its fighting forces, to regain all Palestinian land. It denounces the plans of the US, Zionism and the reactionaries, to liquidate the Palestinian revolution and to consolidate the Zionist entity. It reaffirms the strong ties existing between the Omani and Palesinian revolutions and the need to develop these relations in order to resist the US attack, which is aimed at all Arab revolutionary forces and its armed vanguards.

The Congress greets all national and democratic Arab forces and reasserts the historical necessity of uniting all Arab revolutionary forces at this moment of time when the US attack has intensified, and when there is a growth in capitulationist tendencies as well as in a rapprochement with imperialism. The Congress thinks that a progressive Arab front is the right way to consolidate all revolutionaries so that they will stand firm in the face of the enemies of the Arab revolution.

The Congress salutes the heroic struggle waged by the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos against US imperialism and its continued violation of the Paris Agreements and against the ruling cliques in those nations. It declares its full support for the people of Indo-China.

The Congress salutes the heroic struggle waged by the peoples of Eritrea, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, and of the African people suffering under the racialist regimes in in Rhodesia and South Africa. It declares its support for their just struggle for liberation and complete independence.

The Congress salutes all national liberation movements in the three continents and the anti-imperialist progressive and socialist forces in the capitalist countries which are struggling for a better future for all mankind.

Long Live the Glorious 9 June Revolution!

Long Live the Second National Congress!

Glory to Our Great Martyrs!

Defeat to the Imperialists and the Iranian Invaders!

Freedom and Dignity for People and Nation!

The Second National Congress of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.

July 1974.

21. National Programme of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman

Popular Struggle and the Contemporary Situation

In the course of their long history, our people have faced many foreign invasions and attempts to occupy our country. They have always known how to resist the invaders and to expel these criminals from the country. The people of Oman are well known for their love of liberty and their rejection of any foreign interference: they have always resisted the invaders and have made many sacrifices in order to defeat them and to conserve the sovereignty and independence of the country.

As a result of the determination of the Omani people to conserve their sovereignty and independence, they have been able to preserve a large part of the country as a liberated zone. They have used it as a secure base against foreign occupiers and their agents in Muscat. During the nineteenth century the people waged many campaigns to liberate the country. And the twentieth century has also witnessed the glorious and heroic struggles of our people which occurred between 1913 and 1920, and in the years that followed the British occupation (of the Omani interior in 1955—*ed.*) after which resistance continued for several years.

The puppet Al Bu Said family has proved to be a family of traitors. It has co-operated with our enemies, and has helped the British in their aggression against the Omani people. This family participated in each of the military campaigns waged by Britain against the Omani resistance which the al-Qawasim led in the period 1805-1820. This family has proved to be an obedient tool in the hands of the invaders and a principal enemy of the Omani people and of their aspiration to attain sovereignty over their homeland. On every occasion when the people have risen and resorted to arms to rid the country of this family, the latter have gone to their British masters to protect them from the anger of the people. British policy has, therefore, coincided with the desires of the Al Bu Said family to remain in power, as can be seen in the British campaign to occupy the Jabal Akhdar and its annexation by the Muscat regime in 1955.

Ever since the signing of the 1798 treaty between the British and the puppet rulers in Muscat, the British have been pursuing a policy of repression and exploitation against the people of Oman. In the nineteenth century they destroyed shipping, trade and local production and this led to the destruction of the whole economy: the country therefore remained in an extremely backward condition.

The Omani people have courageously resisted invasion by Britain, just

as they previously resisted the Portuguese and Dutch imperialists. They defeated the Iranian invasion in the eighteenth century and thousands of people lost their lives in that protracted and courageous resistance. After a long experience in the struggle against foreign occupation, in which historic lessons have been learned, our people have undertaken a protracted people's war. They have been on that road since 9 June 1965.

Oman has constituted an important part of the Arab Gulf, and for that reason British imperialism, the main enemy of the people, has wanted to extend its influence over Oman, so that it could secure the safety of its communications network with India. With the discovery of oil in the Arab Gulf, British imperialism reinforced its hold on Oman by imposing more political and military treaties; our country became an outright colony of British imperialism, and the British-built bases at Masirah, Bait al-Falaj, Salala and elsewhere have become a serious threat to our country and to the entire Arab Gulf. British imperialism has used the puppet Al Bu Said family as a camouflage and has used them as an instrument through which the external and internal affairs of the country were managed. All the criminal policies used by imperialism against our people have been implemented through this puppet family.

The oil of this region has attracted the attention of all other imperialist powers, especially the USA: the latter has tried to take over the positions held by Britain one after the other, and to realise its plans for controlling the whole area by creating local repressive forces such as Iran. These can then be used to strike at the national liberation movement and to extend the influence of these new imperialists over our people.

Britain has worked to keep Oman under its own influence—politically, economically and militarily. But, in the face of the many developments in the area and the increase in the activities of the national liberation movement and the armed revolution in the southern part of Oman, Britain declared its intention to withdraw from the Arab Gulf, while simultaneously consolidating its grip over Oman. Britain has come to an agreement with the US which guarantees their common interests and leaves Britain control over Oman, while involving joint plans to resist the Omani revolution.

Since the British coup of July 1970, in which Qabus came to power, the CENTO countries have been planning to back up British policy in the area. This involves fighting the revolution and patching the Omani regime up by making a few reforms here and there, as part of an attempt to deprive the regime of its social base. Our country has, therefore, undergone increased foreign interference in our people's affairs and in the sovereignty and independence of our land, as a result of the domination of Qabus and of British colonialism. British and foreign mercen-

ary forces flooded the country to suppress the armed revolution and the popular movement, once all the face-lifting measures proved to be futile. The Iranian army therefore invaded the country: this was as part of a plan worked out and executed by CENTO and supervised by British and American experts. It was an attempt to suppress the revolution, to conserve the interests of imperialism in Oman, and to annex the latter to the Iranian throne.

British imperialism is the cause of all the sufferings of our people: it is continuing to hold onto its numerous military bases, from which aggressive campaigns are being waged against the people of our liberated areas. It has deployed many experts and consultants, who now control all walks of life in the country, militarily, economically and politically. Britain is guarding the interests of all other imperialist countres in Oman.

At the same time, US imperialism, enemy number 1 of all peoples, is increasing *its* influence in Oman. It is working in co-ordination with Britain to implement the criminal plans, aimed at repressing the armed revolution and ensuring complete domination of Oman. When the British plans proved a failure, the inability of British imperialism to halt the armed revolution became increasingly obvious. US imperialism then tried to create pockets of resistance in the country, for it to rely on in order to take over the British position. US imperialism is afraid that the revolutionary current will spread to the entire Arab Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, thereby destroying its interests in the region. The US is doing all it can to enable Iran to extend its domination and influence throughout the Arab Gulf so as to annex Oman and make it part of the Shah's empire. The regime in Teheran is, therefore, receiving large quantities of the most advanced weapons so that it can act as a watchdog in the area.

Iranian reaction, at once the client and principal tool of US imperialism, wants to dominate our country and to use our homeland to serve the interests and implement the plans of its master, US imperialism. During recent years, the Iranian reactionaries have demonstrated their reactionary intentions in the area. In 1971 they occupied the Omani islands of Abu Musa, and the two Tumbs. Previously, they occupied Omani islands such as Sira and others at the entrance to the Gulf, and sent a great number of experts, officers and military equipment to the puppet regime in Muscat. Iran is now invading Oman openly, using large numbers of troops supported by the most advanced weapons to hit the revolution and pave the way for further annexations of Arab land.

The Iranian invasion not only threatens the identity of our country, and our Arab people in Oman; it also threatens the entire Arab Gulf and threatens the future of the Arab national liberation movement in the Arabian Peninsula and in Iraq. Iran is not only playing this role of

watchdog for US interests in the Arab Gulf; it also wants to realise its own expansionist aims and to extend its influence by annexing Arab land to the Shah's empire. Internally, the Shah's regime is pursuing a policy of repression: the national democratic forces are daily oppressed, while the foreign policy of Iran has led to the occupation of Omani territory, the killing of patriotic Omanis, the destruction and burning of villages and agricultural areas in the southern part of our country. This policy they are free to pursue in any part of Oman and in any other part of the Gulf and the Arab peninsula as long as it serves the Shah's expansionist aims or carries out the wishes of his masters, the imperialists, in suppressing the Arab national liberation movement and protecting the interests of imperialism.

The client Al Bu Said family is a principal enemy of the Omani people; now, it is headed by Qabus, who has allowed more intervention in Omani affairs, and has finally used the Iranian expansionists to occupy Oman and to suppress its people. This treacherous regime has handed over whole areas of Oman to the Iranian invaders and is providing them with every assistance; it is granting them more and more freedom to occupy our country and to suppress our people. The regime in Oman has crowned its long history of oppression and treason by surrendering part of our homeland to the Shah and inviting the Iranian forces to invade our country. The just struggle of our people against foreign occupation and against the Iranian invasion is an inseparable part of its struggle against the puppet Al Bu Said family.

The Need to Broaden the United National Front

The responsibility of liberating Oman from imperialist domination and the Iranian invaders and their ally, the Al Bu Said regime, lies on all Omanis who love their country and people. All honest Omani citizens, both in the country and abroad, are required to unite at this moment more than ever before to face the danger which threatens them all, and in order to save Oman from the foreign occupiers and the Al Bu Said family and other traitors. Defending the land and people of Oman and resisting the British imperialists, the Iran invaders and their agents in Muscat is not only the right of every Omani but is an absolute duty. All Omanis are, therefore, required to unite so that they can perform this duty of saving their country from occupation and destruction and of building a united, democratic and independent Oman.

It is essential to mobilise all the people of Oman, unify all efforts of the national forces, individuals and classes, and all those who have an interest in getting rid of this regime of traitors, to expel the British imperialists and defeat the Iranian invaders and the Al Bu Said family. It is essential to unify all efforts in a popular resistance movement directed against the

enemies of the people and of the country. The united national front that is needed at this stage must be of a combative alliance of all national classes and individuals in the country. It has become an urgent historical necessity to establish such a front, the responsibility of which lies on all our people and is a move which has to be undertaken in order to defeat the enemies of the people to save the country.

The Form of National Struggle

In order to expel British imperialism, the Iranian invaders and the Al Bu Said regime, a broad popular revolution must be built, relying principally on the masses, who are the builders of history and of civilisation for every society, and the foundation for any genuine revolution. To defeat such enemies and to save the country, the revolution must be a protracted one, founding its political and military strategy on the following basis: it must confront the imperialists and other invaders with revolutionary violence. Without this, and without the destruction of the enemy forces and of its repressive apparatus, the people will never be able to seize political power and to save the country. The enemies' repressive apparatus is no doubt better equipped than our own underdeveloped and repressed people; but this advantage is a temporary one, which our people will be able to overcome by constant effort.

Protracted people's war is the only way to turn the temporary strength of the enemy into a gradual weakness, and our temporary weakness into an increasing strength. We insist that armed struggle is the main strategic form of national struggle, and our emphasis is on using violence as the only means to resist the enemy and to seize political power. All this does not, however, mean that we have to abandon other forms of struggle. Armed struggle which is not supported by other forms of struggle cannot win. The struggle of the Omani people must take all possible forms simultaneously, so that all other forms supplement the armed struggle and reinforce it in order to attain victory.

The Objectives of the Revolution

The Omani people are struggling for the just national objectives of self-determination, and are insisting on their sovereignty over their own land. We are struggling for the attainment of true democracy in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, in contrast to the false democracy of Qabus and of the British. Theirs is the democracy of clients and dictatorship, of tyranny and of suppression, directed against the overwhelming majority of our people. Having struggled for many long years, the Omani people will continue to struggle using all means in pursuit of the following objectives:

ONE: THE LIBERATION OF OMAN FROM ALL FORMS OF COLONIAL OCCUPATION AND THE REALISATION OF INDEPENDENCE. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS GOAL IT IS NECESSARY TO:

1. Cancel all treaties, secret and public, with the United Kingdom and other imperialist states.
2. Remove all British, American and Iranian bases from the mainland and the occupied islands of Oman.
3. Withdraw all British, Iranian and mercenary forces, and replace all foreign officers and "advisers" in Oman.

TWO: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL DEMOCRACY THROUGH THE FOLLOWING MEASURES:

1. Abolishing the tribal Sultanic regime based on inheritance within the Al Bu Said family.
2. Establish a People's Democratic Republic, based on the power and alliance of the national democratic working people of Oman.
3. Establishing a popular legislative assembly on a truly democratic basis. This assembly is to lay down a progressive constitution for the country.

THREE: THE PROVISION OF ALL POLITICAL AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS THROUGH THE FOLLOWING MEANS:

1. Releasing all political prisoners and liquidating the British, American, Jordanian and Iranian secret police forces, thus ensuring stability and peace of mind for the masses.
2. Abolishing the state of martial law imposed on most parts of Oman, and demolishing the barbed wire fences built around the coastal areas, so as to allow the inhabitants to move freely between the countryside and the capital.
3. Guaranteeing the return of all democratic elements from abroad including those forced to leave the country because of their political activities.
4. Guaranteeing freedom of the press, assembly and speech for all the Omani masses.

FOUR: THE PURSUIT OF A CORRECT ECONOMIC POLICY WHICH ENSURES THE PEOPLE'S CONTROL OVER THEIR RESOURCES AND CHANNELS IT INTO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS. THIS REQUIRES THE FOLLOWING:

1. Nationalisation of the oil companies, to ensure full control by the people, and the abolition of all invalid concessions signed by the treacherous rulers. This will enable the nation's wealth to be concentrated on building an independent national economy in the service

of our people, of our nation and of humanity, without interference from the oil companies. These companies are looting enormous profits from our people, by manipulating world prices.
2. Establishment of a strong, national industry, using the enormous human and natural resources of our country. These resources should not be left to foreign companies, which extract these riches for the benefit of foreign monopolies and the treacherous local rulers.
3. Establishing a State Bank and nationalising all insurance companies and foreign banks, which now control our nation's economy.
4. Expanding contacts between Oman and other states which respect the independence and sovereignty of the Omani people, on the basis of equality and common interests.
5. Developing animal and marine resources, and establishing a processing industry.

FIVE: THE LIBERATION OF PEASANTS FROM BACKWARD FEUDAL RELATIONS AND FOLLOWING A CORRECT AGRARIAN POLICY DESIGNED TO RAISE THE STANDARDS OF PEASANTS IN ORDER TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS IT IS ESSENTIAL TO:

1. Apply an agrarian reform law, which would enable peasants to benefit from the land. To apply the slogan of "Land to the Tillers". without discrimination on a tribal or racial or any other basis.
2. Confiscate the land granted to foreign companies and foreign colonialists and distribute these lands to the peasants.
3. Reclaim virgin land and distribute it to the peasants, paying special attention to underground water which can be used to develop the irrigation system in the country.
4. Encourage peasants' co-operatives, and to furnish them with seeds, fertilisers and agricultural equipment.
5. Help the peasants to develop agricultural production in order to enable them to employ modern methods of agriculture to market their agricultural products properly.
6. Free peasants from all bankers and middlemen, and establish an Agricultural Credit Bank, which will offer loans to peasants at minimal rates of interest.
7. Encourage and expand trade between the towns and the countryside and improve the basic services.

SIX: THE PASSING OF LAWS TO GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS OF WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES AND TO RAISE THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS IT IS NECESSARY TO:

1. Abolish the present labour law imposed by the colonialist firms and adopt a progressive law guaranteeing the rights of workers and employees, which their representatives will participate in drafting.

2. Allow workers and employees to establish trades unions, to defend their rights and grant them the right to strike.
3. Ensure the participation of workers in running companies and factories through their representatives.
4. Establish vocational training institutes, and compel foreign firms and contractors to employ and then train Omanis for the assumption of higher responsibilities.
5. Ensure social and medical insurance for workers and employees and their families without discrimination on any tribal, racial or other basis.
6. Combat unemployment, guarantee a decent standard of living to all citizens, and create suitable conditions for Omani emigrés to return home; to provide the people with proper employment so that they will not emigrate and will contribute to the development of the homeland.

SEVEN: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL STATUS OF THE PEOPLE IN EVERY SPHERE BY THE FOLLOWING MEANS:

1. Abolishing all oppressive laws which discriminate between citizens on a tribal, racial, sectarian, or social basis.
2. Guaranteeing equality for both women and men in all political, economic and social spheres, and offering all assistance and help to the movement by women to raise the status of women so that they can share effectively in building the country.
3. Paying attention to the condition of young people, allowing them to form their own union and associations, offering them help, and looking after their interests by channelling their enormous capacities into the service of the people and the homeland.
4. Offering free medical services to all citizens, establishing hospitals and medical centres in every part of Oman, including the rural areas and remoter parts of the country.
5. Paying attention to developing new towns in the countryside, which will offer every facility for the inhabitants to build healthy and adequate housing, and abolish all legislation prohibiting citizens in some parts of the country from extending water and electricity supplies to other villages and parts of the countryside.
6. Encouraging the movement to abolish all repressive legislation imposed by the client regime against clubs and societies and to allow the population to practice their social activities safely.
7. Developing communications and transport in the countryside, including the rural areas, the mountains, the remoter regions and the oases.
8. Paying attention to shepherds and fishermen and making all necessary facilities available to them.

EIGHT: THE COMBATTING OF ILLITERACY AND COLONIALIST CULTURE AND

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIONAL CULTURE. THIS NECESSITATES:

1. Abolishing the reactionary educational curriculum and developing a national culture rooted in the history of our glorious people and in the Arab nation, and adopting a progressive educational curriculum with the object of building and educating a nationalist generation, who will adhere to the interests of the people, to their struggle and to their ambitions for the future.
2. Introducing compulsory education, which is to be free at every stage.
3. Establishing vocational institutes and schools and a national university, which will contain every kind of college necessary for graduation, within an overall scheme for developing the human and material resources of our country.
4. Combatting illiteracy, which still affects the majority of the Omani people and working actively to abolish illiteracy within an overall plan.
5. Allowing students to form their own organisations, to defend their specific rights and to develop their contribution to people and country.
6. Pay attention to popular arts, thereby preserving our national heritage.

NINE: BUILDING A STRONG NATIONAL ARMY BASED ON MUTUAL RESPECT AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS, WHO WILL BE EQUIPPED WITH MODERN WEAPONS, WILL BE CHARACTERISED BY A HIGH LEVEL OF TRAINING AND LEVEL OF NATIONAL CULTURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THEY WILL ABIDE BY THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE.

TEN: ENABLING THE PEOPLE TO PLAY AN EFFECTIVE ROLE IN DEFENDING THE HOMELAND THROUGH PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES, IN COORDINATION WITH THE ARMY SO THAT THEY CAN DEFEND THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERESTS OF THE HOMELAND IN THE FACE OF ANY PLOTS OR FOREIGN EXPANSIONISM.

ELEVEN: RESPECTING ALL BELIEFS AND RELIGIOUS SECTS, AND NOT DISCRIMINATING BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT SECTS OF ISLAM.

TWELVE: ENSURING AND PROTECTING FOREIGN MINORITIES WHO RESPECT THE INDEPENDENCE OF OMAN AND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ITS PEOPLE.

THIRTEEN: STRIVING TO UNIFY NATURAL OMAN—WHICH STRETCHES FROM DHOFAR TO ABU DHABI—AND WORKING HARD BY PEACEFUL MEANS TO ACCOMPLISH THIS DEAR WISH WHICH OUR PEOPLE WANT TO CARRY THROUGH WITHOUT THERE BEING ANY FOREIGN INTERFERENCE OR PRESENCE.

FOURTEEN: DEDICATING ALL THE RESOURCES OF OMAN TO DEFENDING THE ARAB IDENTITY OF THE ARAB GULF, IN THE FACE OF THE SHAH OF IRAN'S

AMBITIONS, IN SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FORCES AND AS AN EFFECTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO UNIFYING OMAN AND THE ARAB GULF AS A PRELIMINARY STEP TOWARDS THE UNITY OF THE WHOLE ARAB NATION.

FIFTEEN: STANDING FIRMLY BY THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR ARMED REVOLUTION, WHICH IS DEDICATING ALL ITS CAPABILITIES TO ENURING A RETURN TO THE HOMELAND AND THE ABOLITION OF THE ZIONIST ENTITY.

SIXTEEN: STRENGTHENING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ARAB PEOPLE OF OMAN AND ARAB NATION, THEREBY CONTRIBUTING EFFECTIVELY TO THE ARAB REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN ITS STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE LIBERATION, SOCIAL PROGRESS AND UNITY.

SEVENTEEN: FOLLOWING AN INDEPENDENT AND NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN POLICY ON THE FOLLOWING BASES:

1. Keeping out of all military pacts, and not permitting any other state to establish a military base on Omani soil or to use Omani territory to launch attacks on other nations.
2. Recognising all states and establishing diplomatic relations with all states that respect the independence and sovereignty of Oman and do not interfere in the internal affairs of Oman.
3. Establishing friendly and close relations with all states and peoples which love freedom, justice and peace.
4. Accepting unconditional aid from all states which respect the independence of Oman on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.
5. Standing firmly on the side of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and beside all those struggling for the realisation of justice and social progress for all the peoples of the world.

The People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf.

5 August 1974.

CHRONOLOGY: 1954-1974

The following is a brief list of the major events that have taken place in the past two decades with relation to the liberation movement in Oman and the Gulf: revolutionary initiatives are in bold type.

Document		
18	1954-56:	**Major anti-imperialist movement, under reformist leadership, in Bahrain.**
18	1955:	British forces occupy the interior of Oman and annex it to the Sultanate of Muscat.
	1956:	**Tripartite aggression by Britain, France and Israel against Egypt provokes mass anti-imperialist demonstrations in Aden, Kuwait, and Bahrain.**
18	1957-59:	**Armed insurrection in the Omani interior against 1955 occupation;** British counter-insurgency troops finally defeat rebels. Imamist leaders of the revolt go into exile.
	1961:	Britain grants "independence" to Kuwait.
	1962:	**North Yemen: military coup on 26 September overthrows ruling Imam, proclaims Yemeni Arab Republic.** Start of eight-year civil war.
18	1963:	**April: anti-imperialist demonstrations in Qatar.** **October 14: launching of armed struggle in Radfan mountains of South Yemen leads to outbreak of urban guerrilla movement in Aden city.**
18	1965:	**Bahrain: resurgence of opposition in March, led by oil workers, against the ruling al-Khalifa family and British rule.**
1		**Oman: launching of armed struggle in the mountains of the southern, Dhofar, province on 9 June under leadership of the Dhofar Liberation Front.**
	1967:	**Third Arab-Israeli War in June leads to renewed anti-imperialist upsurge in the Peninsula.** **South Yemen becomes independent on 30 November: creation of a People's Republic under leadership of the National Liberation Front.**
6 & 7	1968:	January: Britain announces it will withdraw from the Gulf by the end of 1971.
2		**Hamrin Congress, in September, produces the People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf.**
3	1970:	**June 12: launching of armed struggle in the interior of Oman, under the leadership of the National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.**

6, 11		July 23: British-led forces depose Sultan Said and install his son, Sultan Qabus. Start of bogus reform policy by the Sultanate.
11		September 12-30: counter-revolutionary conspiratorial plot in Eastern Dhofar.
5, 13	1971:	**Third Congress of PFLOAG, in July, held at Rakhyut, Western Dhofar. Adoption of the National Democratic Programme. Announcement of projected People's Councils.**
7		August: Britain grants "independence" to Bahrain and Qatar.
		October: Sultan Qabus visits Shah of Iran's Persepolis celebrations.
		October-November: British counter-insurgency troops attack Eastern Dhofar.
7, 8		November-December: Britain grants "independence" to the United Arab Amirates. Iran, with British collusion, seizes Arab islands in Gulf.
		December: Sultan Qabus visits Saudi Arabia; restores diplomatic ties.
4		December: **First National Congress of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf—merger of People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf and the National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.**
	1972:	February: coup in Qatar installs "modernising" regime.
19		July: Omani-Iranian agreement on military co-operation. First Iranian forces arrive in Oman, Iranian army takes over Umm al Ghanam Island.
12		**October: PFLOAG announces amnesty for all Omanis siding with the imperialists.**
		October-December: British-led offensive in Western Dhofar.
	1973:	October: Fourth Arab-Israeli war, and "oil crisis".
9		December: Iranian forces launch counter-offensive in Central Dhofar.
	1974:	February: Qabus visits Teheran. Celebrates new alliance.
10		March: Arab League sets up 6-nation committee to investigate war in Oman.
20, 21		**July: Second National Congress of People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf. Creation of People's Front for the Liberation of Oman.**
		October: Iranian offensive in Western Dhofar.

9th June Studies:
Oman: a class analysis
The Oman War 1957-59
The United Arab Amirates

Gulf Committee Publications:
Documents of the National struggle in Oman and the Arabian Gulf.
Political Prisoners in the Oil States: Bahrain, Iran, Oman, Saudi Arabia.
Oil and Investment in Oman.
Arms build up in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf.

The Gulf Committee, founded in 1971, is an independent group working in support of the Liberation movements in the Arabian peninsula and Iran.
It publishes a periodical GULF BULLETIN and other background material.
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